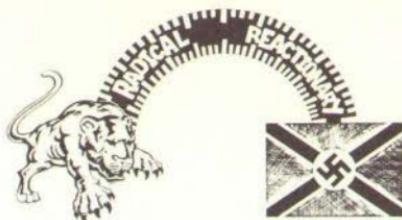




OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS SERIES: Volume One

Gary E. McCuen
David L. Bender

OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS SERIES



The RADICAL LEFT & The FAR RIGHT

FRINGE GROUPS SPEAK ON
THE PROBLEM OF RACE

GARY E. McCUEN
DAVID L. BENDER
(Editors)

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PREFACE

A major emphasis of this book is on critical thinking skills. Discussion exercises included after the readings are not laborious writing assignments. They are written only to stimulate class discussion and critical thinking. Some exercises deal with the ability to distinguish between statements of fact, opinion, and bias. Others permit experimentation with the capacity to evaluate different sources of information and to recognize that human problems and conflicts are extremely complex. Some exercises also allow experimenting with one's ability to empathize or be openminded and view an issue from several points of view. Without these critical skills people can easily be misled by propaganda.

Another focal point of this volume is contemporary fringe political parties and organizations. Very little information exists in educational curricula and libraries about fringe political organizations and publications. This is unfortunate because they have recently become increasingly numerous and active. This book helps to fulfill a crucial need.

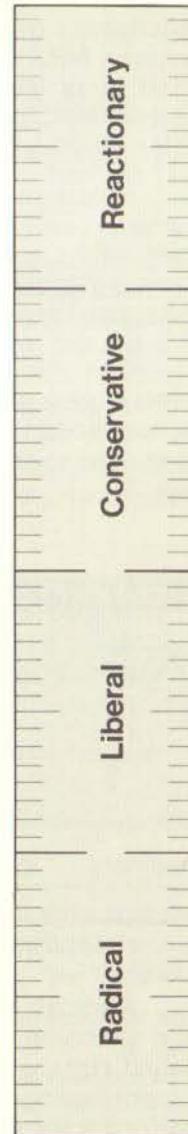
Publishers often fail to print materials that expose students to the excitement of conflicting interpretations. A discussion can frequently be rather meaningless if preparation is made for it by reading a book representing only one author's point of view. This reader uses a real inquiry approach. Its organization and content automatically force readers to think critically. The book contains conflicting interpretations by radical left and far right publications concerning the topic of radical conflict. It permits students to compare the radical left and far right and allows them to analyze the similarities and differences within each polarity.

There is no editorializing for or against any ideas presented in this book. The editors believe a lamentable intolerance exists in American society for fringe social and political viewpoints. We think publishers, libraries, and educational institutions have not exposed readers to the wide spectrum of social, political, and economic ideas.

It should be remembered, however, that sometimes people, movements, and ideas on the fringe of society prove to be the most profound and useful to future generations, even though they are often despised in their own time. Christ and Socrates, for example, were both considered radicals and subversives by mainstream society and put to death by their own people. It is also noteworthy to recall that Hitler's philosophy, a fringe position in the 1920's, rapidly became the popular mainstream ideology in the Germany of the 1930's.

Knowledge and curiosity alone should justify the study of ideas presented in this book. History suggests that there might be other important reasons also.

THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM



The terms liberal, conservative, radical, extremist and a few similar labels, are perhaps used more than any others in social studies classes, in political conversations and by the communications media. However, it is doubtful that many people have a clear understanding of these terms and the differences they signify. It is difficult to pick up the editorial page of any newspaper without reading about the in-fighting of the liberals and conservatives in either the House or the Senate. One is also likely to read about radical or reactionary groups or interests at work somewhere in our society. Because these terms are so often and so carelessly used, it is important that the interested student and the concerned citizen be able to define them and recognize when they are properly used.

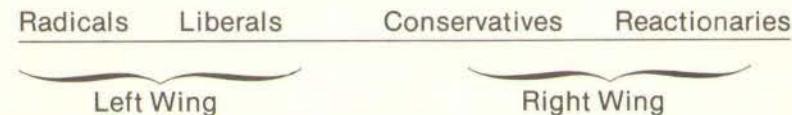
Although this volume presents a comparison of extreme viewpoints on the political spectrum, it is first necessary to compare mainstream liberalism and conservatism so that a sense of perspective may be gained in approaching the far left and the far right.

One may distinguish between liberals and conservatives in two ways: (1) their readiness to change, (2) their philosophical differences. Let us first consider their readiness to accept or bring about change.

READINESS TO CHANGE

If one were to construct a continuum showing the reaction to change, the following stopping points would be noted:

THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM



Radicals and liberals are called left-wingers or leftists and welcome change. Conservatives and reactionaries are called right-wingers or rightists and are quite reluctant to accept change. If each position on the continuum were defined it would read as follows:

The Radical

He favors a radical or basic change. He is quite impatient and would quickly support a revolution to bring about the desired change.

The Liberal

He is ready to move forward and accept change but would be considered a reformer rather than a revolutionary.

The Conservative He is quite content with things the way they are.

The Reactionary

He wants change also, but wants to retreat into the past and restore the order of things the way they used to be.

A former advisor of Franklin D. Roosevelt's, Rexford Tugwell, skillfully uses the example of a community's need for a new train station to illustrate the difference between liberals and radicals: "*Liberals would like to rebuild the station while the trains are running; radicals prefer to blow up the station and forego service until the new structure is built.*"¹ One might add that conservatives would prefer to keep the old station, being satisfied with it, while reactionaries would abandon the station entirely since they do not approve of trains in the first place.*

I believe that liberals tend to design houses, conservatives to build them. The liberal mind, by and large, moves more quickly than the conservative's to original thought.

Those of us on the right tend to stand by tradition, precedent, and the old ways of doing things.

James J. Kilpatrick, Conservative Commentator

Whatever the differences between the left-wing and the right-wing in accepting change, all four viewpoints are helpful to society. The radical points out the future's

¹ Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Industrial Discipline and the Governmental Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934-5), p. 229.

*In this hypothetical situation, the reader must consider the need for a new train station and the method of building it open to question, otherwise the liberal solution would appear to be the only prudent one.

possibilities while the liberal helps to see them realized through the practice of compromise. The conservative cautions us to preserve past accomplishments and the reactionary reminds us of our heritage and the glory of times past.

PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCES

More important than their readiness to change are the philosophical differences that separate left-wingers and right-wingers. The greatest areas of disagreement concern the nature of man, reliance on tradition and individual freedom.

1. THE NATURE OF MAN

Liberals generally approach man with a great deal of optimism. They feel he is basically good, and though he may be born ignorant he is not evil. They do not believe in original sin and as a consequence they feel man can be perfected by education and knowledge. If you give him an opportunity to better himself he will take advantage of it and improve. Conservatives, on the other hand, have a rather pessimistic opinion of man. Because they believe he has been tainted by original sin they expect less of man. They are reluctant to provide welfare programs such as aid to dependent mothers or unemployment compensation because they do not think it will be used properly, and in fact feel it will cause additional problems because the weaker side of man's nature will be reinforced. Liberals welcome reforms because they feel that man's history is one of continual progress as he informs and improves himself.

Liberals also favor rapid movement toward constitutional or democratic forms of government because of their great confidence in the ability of the enlightened citizen to make wise and prudent choices at the ballot box. Conservatives are a little more suspicious of the average citizen's ability to direct a government, even only indirectly as in a representative democracy such as the United States.²

²American government was partially founded on the concept of direction for the masses by an enlightened minority. The founding fathers, while meeting at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, made provisions for this practice in the new constitution. Various methods were devised to place the reins of government in the hands of the better educated and more responsible members of American

2. TRADITION AND REFORM

The second philosophical difference between liberals and conservatives, reliance on tradition, is somewhat related to their readiness to change. One of the fundamental values of conservatism is a confidence in the accumulated wisdom and values of the past. Conservatives do not favor quick change for they feel that it can bring nothing but negative results. The positive accomplishments of man have been the result of gradual change and slow growth. They do not, like liberals, advocate utopian forms of government, for they are skeptical of man improving his condition greatly in a short period of time. Conservatives represent the status quo, which they consider the end result of centuries of experience and knowledge. Conservatives feel little need to articulate their philosophy for it represents the system that presently exists. Liberals, on the other hand, impatient for improvement, are constantly presenting arguments and programs to change the on-going system. This explains why the liberal journals of opinion outnumber those of a conservative persuasion. Whereas **The National Review** may be said to present the conservative viewpoint, **The New Republic**, **The Progressive** and **The Nation** all speak for liberalism.

Russell Kirk, a conservative spokesman, defines tradition as a set of "*received opinions, conviction religious and moral and political and aesthetic passed down from generation to generation, so that they are accepted by most men as a matter of course.*"³ Conservatives are satisfied to live with tradition, liberals are anxious to question established opinions and convictions, whether they be religious, moral, political or aesthetical.

3. AUTHORITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Closely allied to the difference of opinion on the importance of tradition is the disagreement over authority society:

1. The creation of the Senate as a check on the House of Representatives with members given six year terms to give them a greater degree of independence.
2. The election of state senators by state legislators rather than by the general voting public.
3. The election of the President by electors rather than by the general voting public.

³Russell Kirk, *Prescription, Authority, and Ordered Freedom, What Is Conservatism*, ed. Frank S. Meyer (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964), p. 27.

versus individual freedom. Because liberals expect man to act correctly when he is informed they would give him a great amount of liberty in his actions. Conservatives however, not having such an optimistic opinion of man, feel that he must often be controlled and directed for his own good.

A partial understanding of the disagreement on the topic of individual freedom as opposed to institutionalized authority can be gained by simply defining the terms liberalism and conservatism. Liberalism is derived from the early nineteenth century Spanish political party, the "Liberales", a party that advocated a constitutional form of government that would grant more freedom to individuals than the established authoritarian government it was opposing. The word "liberal" has since come to signify any idea, movement, or party that favors granting more individual liberty than the traditional authoritarian forms of government normally permit. The term "conservatism" means literally to conserve, namely the traditions, customs and governments that have evolved through many generations of human experience.

Again, because of the liberal's optimistic outlook, he believes that man will use wisely any liberties given him. The conservative, however, believes that man must be somewhat restrained and guided by those in society that are better educated and better equipped to govern. Edmund Burke, who has been called the father of modern conservatism, expresses the conservatives's aversion to giving too much freedom to the individual:

The extreme of liberty . . . obtains nowhere, nor ought to obtain anywhere; because extremes, as we all know, in every point which relates either to our duties or satisfactions in life, are destructive both to virtue and enjoyment. Liberty, too, must be limited in order to be possessed.⁴

It must be obvious to the reader that the philosophical differences that separate liberals and conservatives spring from their basic disagreement on human nature and its perfectibility. One could cite other philosophical arguments

such as the equality of all men, rationalism versus tradition, intellectual freedom and censorship, the role and scope of government and the nature of religion; topics that all cause a direct confrontation between liberals and conservatives. But at the root of all these disagreements is the central question concerning the nature of man, his basic goodness and perfectibility and his evil strain and tendency toward weakness and selfishness.

THE NATURE OF EXTREMISM

For purposes of discussion and clarity right-wing extremist groups will henceforth be referred to as the far right and left-wing extremists groups as the radical left. The far right organizations are extreme conservative groups because they do not wish to merely conserve existing social, religious and political institutions but would rather return to the customs and institutions of an earlier age. Conversely, radical groups are not interested in reforming society in a piecemeal fashion, they would rather confront the establishment with a revolution, bloody if necessary, to bring about the kind of society they envision. Before looking at the characteristics that are peculiar to reactionaries and radicals respectively, it would be helpful to consider some characteristics that they have in common.

1. Extreme Measures. They recommend extreme measures in dealing with domestic and world problems, for they see a deep void between good and evil, and evil must be dealt with forcefully and immediately. The art of compromise, upon which the American system of government is founded, and a practice much used by mainstream liberals and conservatives, is derided as giving in to evil forces, whether it be the forces of communism or the establishment.

2. The Anti-Movement. Related to the first characteristic of dividing the world into two opposing forces, the forces of good and evil, is the tendency to be anti something. It may be an anti-communistic, anti-Semitic, anti-U.N., anti-Negro, or anti-white philosophy. The life giving power in many fringe groups is their hatred or fear of some racial group, governmental agency or movement in society to which they attribute a great number if not all of society's problems.

⁴Ross J.S. Hoffman and Paul Levack (eds.), *Burke's Politics: Selected Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 109.

3. A Tendency to Disregard Civil Liberties and Laws in the Name of the Cause. Because they are convinced of the purity of their causes, and the evilness of those they oppose, drastic means are often justified by their goals. The far right has decided to fight fire with fire by adopting the tactics of the communists they oppose. They also favor an emphasis on giving police officials more power in dealing with society's enemies before the courts of the land when this power conflicts with individual civil liberties. Radicals frequently break laws to direct public attention to their programs and goals, and show little regard for the legal authority of police officials whom they often call pigs. In general, innocent bystanders may be hurt by both the far right and the radical left as an unfortunate but unavoidable consequence of pursuing their goals.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAR RIGHT

In addition to the characteristics it shares with the radical left, the far right can be identified by its own set of general traits.

1. An avid anti-communist sentiment, directed at communists within the United States and those abroad, is one of the most noticeable features of the far right. For the greater part of this century the far right has felt that American government and society have been under attack by communists who have been quite successful in influencing American foreign and domestic policy. The far right differs from conservatives on this point in that the far right believes that a worldwide conspiracy involving American communists and communist sympathizers is instrumental in bringing about the communization of the United States through socialistic economic and social programs. Conservatives, however, would attribute American softness on communism to the mistakes of Democratic presidential administrations over the last thirty years.

2. The far right is also concerned about the decline of traditional moral values. Many members of the far right belong to fundamentalist religious denominations to which the term "new morality" is anathema.

3. The far right has traditionally been loyal to the Republican party.

4. Programs and movements they are opposed to they label as communist-inspired, whether it be the civil rights movement, fluoridation of city water or long hair.

5. The far right is concerned about the corrupting influence of the United States Supreme Court on American society. Specifically, they are dissatisfied with decisions regulating prayers in public schools, decisions recognizing the constitutional rights of accused individuals and decisions that in any way increase the power of the federal government.

6. The far right opposes government programs on the basis that the less the government does the harder it will be for the communists to take over.

7. The United Nations is also seen as a socialistic tool, being used by the Communists to enslave the world, and they urge the United States to withdraw from it.

8. The far right is not optimistic about federal legislation solving our racial problems and instead calls for a personal change of heart by individual citizens.

9. When legal action is necessary to solve problems of social unrest and disorder the far right would call on law enforcement agencies first.

10. The far right favors a capitalistic system as opposed to any form of socialism.*

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RADICAL LEFT

The radical left has changed its complexion considerably during the decade of the 1960's. Daniel Boorstin presents a clear picture of pre-1960 members of the radical left.

The Depression Decade beginning in 1929 saw in the United States a host of radicalisms, perhaps more numerous and more influential than any earlier period of our history. Many of these were left-wing movements, which included large numbers of our academics, intellectuals, and men of

*Socialism is an economic system that calls for government ownership of basic industries, whereas capitalism is an economic system based on private ownership of property and private enterprise engaged in for profit.

public conscience who became members or fellow travelers of groups dominated by Marxist ideas. They favored a reconstruction of American life on a base of socialism or communism. They had a great deal to do with promoting a new and wider American labor movement, with helping F.D.R. popularize the need for a welfare state, and with persuading Americans to join the war to stop Hitler. Although they fenced in American social scientists by new orthodoxies, they did have a generally tonic effect on American society. However misguided were many of the policies they advocated, these radicals did awaken and sensitize the American conscience. They confronted Americans with some facts of life which had been swept under the rug.⁵

Boorstin claims that the radicals of the past were identified by three characteristics: (1) a search for some kind of new meaning whether in religious, social or economic programs. (2) A "specific content", a philosophy, a program, etc. (3) An allegiance to a common cause; improvement of American society (an affirmation of community as Boorstin puts it).

The radical left of the present is identified by different traits than those of the past.

1. Most left wing groups advocate a socialist form of economy. Some groups feel this goal can be realized democratically through the ballot box. Others are more pessimistic and feel a violent revolution is necessary.

2. Historically the left's underlying theme of socialism has lacked a broad appeal in America which accounts for its small following. However, socialism does seem to have more appeal for young people.

3. The new left is anti-materialistic. It is bored with the affluent society and is not too interested in improving its economic situation. The economic considerations that motivated their parents do not seem to be as important to the young members of the new left.

4. Although they readily condemn the ills of the present system and would tear it down if these ills are not cured, they do not suggest workable alternatives.

5. They are driven by a sense of idealism that permits few compromises and generates a feeling of elitism.

6. The new left is not too concerned about the communist menace that troubles the far right and would point out that before Americans can condemn communists out of hand they must first solve their own domestic problems.

7. The new left advocates "participatory democracy" which means that workers and students and the poor should participate in making decisions that effect them.

8. The new left identifies with neither the Republican nor the Democratic party.

9. Ideological differences often prevent unity on the radical left and hence one finds many left wing political organizations.

The characteristics of the radical left and the far right that have been listed are general characteristics. They may not apply to all extremist organizations but they should help the reader gain some insight into the philosophical and operational traits that make both the far right and the radical left uniquely different.

THE DANGER OF LABELING

Before approaching the readings in this volume the reader must be cautioned about labeling a group or an individual as a liberal, a reactionary or whatever the case may be. A group may have what would be considered a liberal position on censorship of pornography but may at the same time hold a conservative position on the question of socialized medicine for the United States. How would you then classify this group, right-wing or left-wing? Although a general conclusion may be reached about the positioning of a specific group on the political spectrum, one must always be careful about irrevocably labeling a group as a reactionary, conservative, liberal or radical group. Individually, almost every person can be positioned at every stopping point on the political spectrum. One would have to conduct a long search to find a person who is a one hundred percent radical and demands a revolution for every cause, or a liberal who is completely dissatisfied with the status quo. The search would be equally fruitless if one were to look for

⁵ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The New Barbarians*, *Esquire*, October, 1968, p. 159.

the complete conservative who is satisfied with everything as it is or the reactionary who wants to retreat totally into the past.

It should be clear in the following readings that a group can more or less be positioned at a particular point on the political spectrum and that many organizations leave no doubt as to how they should be labeled. The careful reader should exercise some caution before deciding the political persuasion of a particular group.

1. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SPECTRUM

The average American seems to be a bit puzzled in his use of the terms liberal and conservative, and how he would identify himself. A few years ago, the Harris Survey asked a cross section of the public to classify positions on several major policy questions.⁶ For each question, persons were asked if they felt a particular stand on the issue was "conservative" or "liberal." The results were as follows:

Position on Issue	Liberal	Conservative
1. "abolition of welfare and making people who collect it go to work"	20%	40%
2. "stop being permissive with student protesters"	22	46
3. "getting tougher on the subject of law and order"	23	48
4. "help blacks move faster toward equality"	54	17
5. "increasing federal programs to help the poor"	51	19
6. "increase spending on air and water pollution control"	41	26
7. "giving corporations a better tax break"	32	29

⁶Louis Harris, *Conservative, Liberal Tags Sometimes Puzzle Public*, *The Minneapolis Star*, January 18, 1971. Reprinted with permission from The Chicago Tribune — N.Y. News Syndicate and the Harris Survey.

8. "doing away with the union shop"	30	27
9. "a system of wage and price controls to curb inflation"	38	23

The survey reveals what positions most Americans believe to be conservative (positions 1-3), which are considered liberal (positions 4-6) and the controversies that Americans experience difficulty in distinguishing between liberal and conservative positions (positions 7-9).

The Harris Survey also showed that a person tends to identify a given stand on an issue in relationship to his own position on the political spectrum. For example, liberals tend to see advocacy or increased spending for air and water pollution programs as a clearly liberal stand, but conservatives see it as an expression of their own political philosophy.

2. THE SHIFT LEFT WITH TIME

In terms of change, society is constantly moving left on the spectrum, as suggested social reforms become adopted programs.

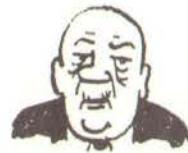
A good example of this occurrence is the advocacy of social security payments for elderly Americans. If one had advocated such payments in 1900, he probably would have been called a radical by his contemporaries for asking for such a significant change in our social and economic structures. If this individual would have advocated the same program in 1935, when the Roosevelt administration pushed through the Social Security Act making it a reality, he probably would have been called a liberal on the issue. If he were to maintain the same position on the issue in the 1950's, long after the social security program was adopted and accepted by the public, he could have been called a conservative for supporting the status quo. By 1973, the original social security program had been expanded by additional benefits and larger pension payments. If our hypothetical individual were to advocate a return to the smaller program he supported back in 1900, he would be called a reactionary for wanting to return to the past.



(At age 14) "They ought to do more for pensioners."

(Age 24) "Pensioners? Yes, but can we afford it?"

(Age 34) "I agree, but higher pensions mean higher taxes."



(Age 44) "More for pensioners? Certainly, but what would it cost?"

(Age 54) "We'd all like pensions to be raised, but..."

(Age 64) "They ought to do more for pensioners."

CONSTANT POSITION ON ISSUE

Radical
in 1900

Liberal
in 1935

Conservative
in 1950

Reactionary
in 1970's

Society

Individual

The shift left with time is a partial explanation for the generation gap. Older people tend to be more conservative than the young. Many old people are most comfortable with the ideas and customs acquired during their earlier years. There is some truth to the adage "you can't teach an old dog new tricks." On the other hand, the young are quick to try new clothing and hair styles, new music and other entertainment innovations, and they are more likely to challenge sexual mores and other societal customs. Also, one would be hard pressed to find large numbers of older people demonstrating with the young in the streets against "the establishment."

1

READING NUMBER

REVOLUTION IN THE WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE BLACK COLONY

As Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver presented this Black Paper to the Peace and Freedom Founding Convention in Richmond, California on March 16, 1968. Since then Cleaver left the U.S. for exile in Algeria. In April of 1973, it became known that he had applied for political asylum in France. While living in Algeria, he was put under arrest and then went into hiding in December of 1972. His attorney filed the asylum papers in Paris, asserting that Cleaver has been "persecuted because of his action in favor of liberty."



Consider the following questions while reading:

1. What does Cleaver mean by "mother country" and the "black colony?"
2. What are the objectives of the Black Panther party and how would you evaluate them?
3. What kind of cooperation does Cleaver propose between blacks and whites?

*Reprinted from *Despite Everything*, July, 1968, pp. 1-5, with permission.

We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the black colony. To achieve these ends we believe that political and military machinery that does not exist now and has never existed must be created. . . .

We believe that cooperation between revolutionary forces in the mother country and their counterpart in the black colony is absolutely and unequivocally desirable and necessary. We believe that it is suicidal and nonsensical for such potential allies to remain aloof and isolated from each other any longer. . . .

Our goal is to organize black people for national liberation. . . .

"What White Americans have never fully understood — but what the Negro can never forget — is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it and white society condones it."

Racism in America — U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970.

THE BLACK PLEBISCITE

As our major political objective, the Black Panther Party is calling for a Black Plebiscite, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate. The plebiscite is for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny. In the past many people and organizations have stated what they believed the will of the black people to be.

The Black Panther Party believes that it is the right of black people to state for themselves the destiny that they desire. We feel that the burning question to which only such a plebiscite can supply the answer is: Whether the black people want to be integrated into Babylon, or whether they want to be separated into a sovereign nation of their own, with full status and rights with the other nations of the world, including UN membership and diplomatic recognition by the other nations of the world. . . .

For those who view the land question, that is, the absence of geographical boundaries of our dispersed colony, as an insuperable obstacle to nationhood, we say that we will hold the land question in abeyance. We follow the dictum of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, "*Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added unto you.*" What the black man in Babylon needs is organized



"Prowl Car 39 thinks he just seen a suspected Black Panther carryin' what he imagines could be a concealed lethal weapon!"

black power, and with that political power he can carve out his place in the sun — and it won't be on a reservation or in the gas chambers, as certain madmen propose and certain other panic-stricken people fear. . . .

PROGRAM OF THE PANTHERS

1. We believe that every human being on the face of the planet Earth has a right to live. Therefore, when it is

necessary to work to live, every human being has a right to work in order that he may eat and provide himself with basic necessities. If he is physically incapable of work, then society has an obligation to support him for life, or for as long as his disability remains. We demand for every human being the highest standard of living that the present-day level of technological development is capable of providing. This encompasses the traditional demand for decent housing, decent food, and decent schooling.

"If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem."

2. Withdraw the troops — replace the occupying army of the police with a public force of black men who live in the community to maintain order and harmony; also, station UN observers in the black colony to observe and halt the police-gestapo actions against black people — prevent genocide and racist extermination violating not only the UN Charter of Human Rights but the lives and right to life and peace of black people.

EXERCISE 1

ABILITY TO EMPATHIZE

The ability to empathize, to see a problem from another person's vantage point, is a skill that must be widely developed and practiced if national problems, like racial conflict, are ever to be solved.

Consider the following statement by Cleaver:

We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized Imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage.

1. Try to imagine how each of the following individuals might react to Cleaver's statement. Discuss and compare your reactions with other classmates.
2. Which two individuals do you think would be the most sympathetic? Which two would be the most hostile?

Black policeman in Harlem

White policeman in Harlem

White shop owner in a black ghetto

Newspaper man in Mexico

Citizen of Cuba

Black professor in an American university

A member of South Vietnam's legislature

Historian in Communist China

Japanese scientist

Prominent leader of the NAACP

2

READING NUMBER

SOUL ON TRIAL

by Dr. Edward R. Fields*

Dr. Edward R. Fields is the editor of **The Thunderbolt** and the director of the National States Rights Party. **The Thunderbolt** is published in Savannah, Georgia, and all members of the National States Rights Party receive a copy. The following article appeared in **Playboy** magazine and is a reply to a previous article by Eldridge Cleaver printed in **Playboy**. This article was also printed in **The Thunderbolt**.

Use the following questions to assist you in your reading:

1. Dr. Fields claims Negroes are inferior people and cannot think for themselves. What evidence does he offer to support these assertions?
2. The author believes the white race is a superior race. Do you agree?
3. Analyze Dr. Fields' use of the word Christian in the last sentence of this reading.

Playboy's interview with Eldridge Cleaver reveals why the Negroes will never amount to anything. Cleaver and the other Negroes are unable to think for themselves. Cleaver is only able to repeat the irrational socialist ideas of Karl Marx — who was not a Negro. At no point in the interview does Cleaver express an original idea. That is a Negro for you. Negroes are inherently inferior to people. Cleaver's statements are valuable in one respect. They show that since his race is engaged in a fight with the police, every Negro in America must be disarmed. Antigun legislation should only be enforced against the blacks and their allies. Instead of disarming the police — as Cleaver advocates — the police should be given heavier and more powerful weapons, such as bazookas and machine guns, and be ordered to shoot lawless blacks first and ask questions later. It is obvious to all mature and thinking people that we will never have law and order in America until all of the Negroes are deported back to Africa and completely removed from this nation that was founded and built by the great white race. The blacks unwillingly contributed a little sweat, but no intelligence, to the building of this nation — so did the jackasses.

DANGER OF THE JEW

The chief saboteur of any peaceful solution, via physical separation of Black and White, will be the Zionist movement around the world. . . . They have concluded that a subject world, ruled over by them, is the answer. The Blacks have become their lever to power and they will utilize this tool to the limit.

Daily Press Not Trusted, The Thunderbolt, February, 1973, p. 7.

We white men know what the Negro really wants. He wants our white women. But we would rather die than surrender our precious white women to the black beasts. Cleaver clearly shows that Negroes prefer white women because black women are ugly and stupid. Not even the Negro men want them. Basically, Cleaver and his race are

sick and tired of being Negroes and are depressed and sad because science is unable to change them into white people. They are jealous of the beautiful and intelligent white race and ashamed of their own black race. The white race is the superior race, and white supremacy is God's law — the law of nature that God created. Throughout their history, even though they have been in contact with white civilization for over 6000 years, the Negroes have always been wild savages and always will be. Even so, there is no reason for them to worry because, when the National States Rights Party comes to power, we will solve the race problem and have a white Christian America.

Dr. Edward R. Fields, Director
National States Rights Party
Savannah, Georgia

National States Rights Party's Complete Program for Deporting Negroes "BACK TO AFRICA"

•History of plan	1 copy 25¢
•Negroes who endorsed	20 copies \$1
Back to Africa	100 copies \$4
•How it would work	300 copies \$10
and benefit America	
•Documented 5,000 words	

ONE RACE - ONE NATION

by Miss Jane Arnold*

Miss Jane Arnold is the Corresponding Secretary of the National States Rights Party Headquarters Staff. Her article appeared as an editorial in **The Thunderbolt**.

The following questions should help you examine the reading:

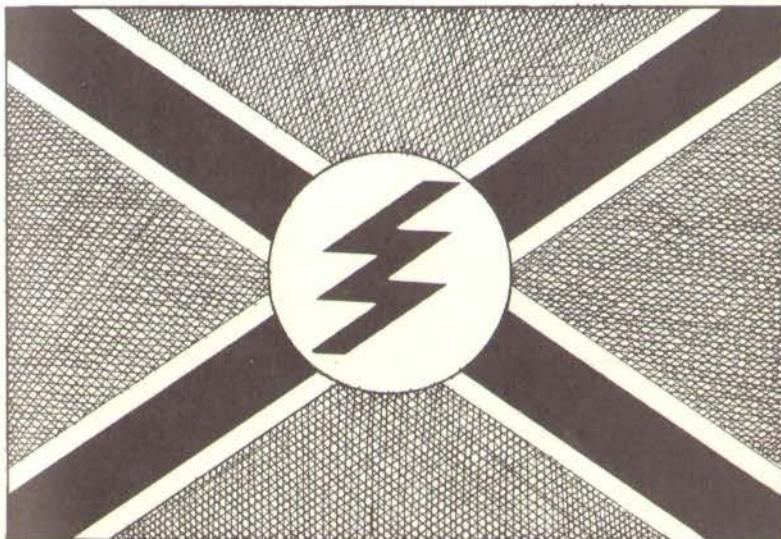
1. How does Miss Arnold define nation? What is your definition?
2. How does she define citizenship?

*Reprinted from **The Thunderbolt**, June, 1969, p. 6, with permission.

All too many people conceive of a nation everything but what it is. It is not just a voluntary grouping of people under a government. Nor is it just people who speak the same language banded together for economic reasons.

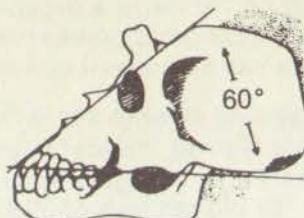
Nation is a racial term. Nationality is determined exclusively by blood. A nation is a group of people related by race. Government, economic conditions, and languages may change, but race has permanent consequences.

A government should exist to serve the interests of the nation, and a nation's highest interest is the preservation of its best racial elements. It is a government's job to make conditions right for the higher development of the race. The future of civilization depends wholly on race. A race capable of culture (only the White Race) is the most valuable existing thing on this earth.

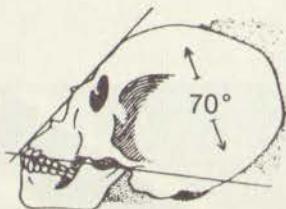


Since a nation is made up of racially related beings, all alien races are foreign to that nationality. White America is composed of pure White people, so all negroes, Jews and Asiatics are foreigners. Not only are these Jews, negroes, and other non-White foreigners, they are the enemy because they pose a threat to White America's racial preservation. All non-Whites must be removed from America's soil forever and future immigration will be restricted to our own

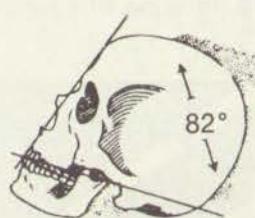
THE FACIAL ANGLE



Gorilla



Negro



White man

Intelligence can be gauged by the percentage angle of the frontal brain. In the Negro, the fore brain is restricted.

Great Differences Between Races, The Thunderbolt, March, 1973, p. 3.

nationality — the White race. It is our duty to crush the enemies of our racial preservation.

Some attention must be given to the matter of citizenship. At present, a citizen is anyone born within the borders of our country or a naturalized person from another country. No regard is given to race, that force which controls the destiny of the world. How is it possible that negro apes are called citizens of our great White nation. When the National States Rights Party comes to power, just pure White people will have the right to citizenship, as is

only reasonable. It is clearly logical that White people alone can be members of the White American nation. The Holy Bible says, "*The leopard cannot change its spots*," and a negro or Jew cannot become a part of White America.

It is the non-Whites who advocate socialism and a redistribution of the wealth. The reason for this is that on the whole they are indolent, non-productive, and non-creative. This is the reason pro-communists like Caesar Chavez can incite them into militant movements to "take from the haves and give to the have nots." In other words, take from the White and give to the undeserving Brown and Black masses.

Non-White Population Skyrockets, The Thunderbolt, April, 1973, p. 2.

EXERCISE 2

BIAS AND REASON

One of the most important critical thinking skills is the ability to distinguish between opinions based on emotions or bias and conclusions based on a rational consideration of facts. This discussion exercise is designed to promote experimentation with one's capacity to recognize biased statements.

Some of the following statements have been taken from the first four readings and some have other origins. Consider each statement carefully. Mark (R) for any statement you feel is based on a rational consideration of the facts. Mark (P) for any statement you believe is based on prejudice or emotion. Mark (I) for any statement you think is impossible to judge. Then discuss and compare your judgments with other class members.

R = REASON

P = PREJUDICE

I = IMPOSSIBLE TO JUDGE

- 1. Black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the word.
- 2. The United States would still have serious social and urban problems if no black people lived in our country.
- 3. A nation's highest interest is the preservation of its best racial elements.

- 4. Black people have developed remarkable athletic ability.
- 5. It would be unreasonable to blame black people for race riots.
- 6. We must build a new society based on racial values rather than monetary or materialistic values.
- 7. Opportunities for black people are greater today than they were ten years ago.
- 8. We must have a foreign policy based only on the long term interests of our race.
- 9. In the United States black people have a lower standard of living than white people.
- 10. Eldridge Cleaver and other Negroes are unable to think for themselves.
- 11. Black people are very able musicians
- 12. We will never have law and order in America until all Negroes are deported back to Africa.
- 13. Black people are a significant cause of poverty and unemployment.
- 14. White America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage.
- 15. A nation is a group of people related by race.
- 16. White people are more responsible for racial conflict in America than black people.
- 17. Black people are more responsible for racial conflict in America than white people.
- 18. We must have an America in which white people are the sole masters of their own destiny.

READING NUMBER

4

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

The following statement is the Party Platform of the Black Panthers. The reader should note that a split has developed in the party between Panthers loyal to Eldridge Cleaver and those loyal to Huey Newton. A dissident Black Panther sect led by Cleaver from his exile in Algeria wants revolutionary violence now. Huey Newton, however, thinks violence can only be effective in promoting revolutionary change in America when the Panthers have a much broader base of popular support. Cleaver's faction is known as the Afro-American Army and Newton's group controls **The Black Panther** publication from which the following article was excerpted.



Bring the following questions to your reading:

1. What does the Party Platform say about racial injustice and its causes?
2. What alternatives to the present situation does the Party Platform suggest?

*From *Black Panther Party Program*, *The Black Panther*, March 29, 1972.

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black and oppressed communities.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black and oppressed communities.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and

the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. We want completely free health care for all Black and oppressed people.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

We have seen that white-controlled institutions have failed to provide black citizens with the means for a relevant and meaningful education, a voice in political processes, the rights of economic self-determination, just treatment under the law, or decent health care.

Institutional Racism In America, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969, p. 126.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces, and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. We want freedom for all Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. federal, state, county, city and military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights,

governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

5

READING NUMBER

THE NEW BLACK PANTHERS

by Fred C. Schwarz, M.D.*

Dr. Fred Schwarz quit his medical practice in Sydney, Australia, and devoted himself to the opposition of Communism. He has traveled the world over, warning people about what he considers to be the dangers of Communism. In 1953 he organized the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. This organization distributes literature and holds seminars about the threat of Communism. The headquarters of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is in Long Beach, California.



Reflect on the following questions while you read:

1. According to Dr. Schwarz, how has the strategy of the Black Panthers changed?
2. What does he say about their long range objectives?
3. How does he describe the war between the Panthers loyal to Huey Newton and those loyal to Eldridge Cleaver?

*From Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, *The New Black Panthers, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade*, June 15, 1972, p. 1.

The Black Panthers, under the leadership of Huey Newton, have changed their strategy but not their doctrines and objectives. They remain Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

Their strategic change has been to de-emphasize the role of "the gun" and to emphasize community service. The slogan "serve the people" has replaced "off the pig."

The Panthers have recently conducted massive, highly publicized distributions of free food while they also provide free clothing, shoes and medical services. They obtain the goods for distribution in a variety of ways, including extortion.

They have recently become active politically, conducting registration drives, supporting Shirley Chisholm in the Democratic Presidential Primary, and they are now running Bobby Seale, the Party Chairman, for mayor of Oakland.

This indicates that they have become more sophisticated Leninists. Lenin taught that the support of the masses of the people must be obtained and that this can only be done by taking the leadership in fighting for the desires of the people. The program of a Communist Party seeking to obtain popular support is, "Find out what people want; promise it to them; go to work to get it for them so that you can come to power over them."

The total communist process consists of five steps:

1. Recruitment of communists, usually from the ranks of the students.
2. Training the recruits so that they become disciplined and effective communist leaders.
3. Scientific exploitation of group self-interest to advance the Party in popularity and power.
4. Seizure of power. This is usually accomplished by violent revolution though they do not exclude the possibility that it may come about by electoral action.
5. Consolidation of power. This involves the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which means that the Communist Party monopolizes executive, legislative, judicial, military, economic and educational power. During this stage, the institutions of the existing state such

as the Congress, the Army, and the Constitution must be destroyed.

The Black Panthers classify themselves as a Marxist-Leninist (i.e. a Communist) Party. They consider themselves the revolutionary vanguard. They are presently implementing step 3 — scientifically exploiting the needs to the blacks in the effort to advance in popularity and power.

The "gun" has not been discarded. It is primarily used at present, however, in conflict with the dissident Black Panther sect led by Eldridge Cleaver from his refuge in Algeria. The war between the Panthers loyal to Newton and those loyal to Cleaver has claimed numerous casualties. Cleaver wants violence now. Newton believes it will be more effective once the masses are deeply involved.

EXERCISE 3

FACT AND OPINION

This discussion exercise is designed to promote experimentation with one's ability to distinguish between fact and opinion. It is a fact, for example, that the United States was militarily involved in the Vietnam War. But to say this involvement served the interests of world peace is an opinion or conclusion. Future historians will agree that American soldiers fought in Vietnam, but their interpretations about the causes and consequences of the war will probably vary greatly.

Some of the following statements are taken from reading number five and some have other origins. Consider each statement carefully. Mark (O) for any statement you feel is an opinion or interpretation of the facts. Mark (F) for any statement you believe is fact. Then discuss and compare your judgments with those of other class members.

O = OPINION
F = FACT

- 1. Most black people in America suffer from racial discrimination.
- 2. Any black man who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism is seeking his ultimate destruction and death.

- 3. Many black power militants are unpatriotic.
- 4. The United States is basically a segregated society.
- 5. The United States is a racist society.
- 6. Black people have suffered the most from racism and exploitation in America.
- 7. White people have better schools in the United States than black people.
- 8. White people are generally more intelligent than black people.
- 9. Black people have more athletic ability than white people.
- 10. Race riots occur primarily in cities and urban centers.
- 11. Black people are the biggest single cause of race riots.
- 12. White people are more responsible for causing race riots than black people.
- 13. The United States carries on trade relations with the white-dominated government of South Africa.
- 14. Black people must lead a revolution in America that will destroy capitalism and create a socialist society.
- 15. Black people deserve a \$500 million reparation payment from the American Christian-Jewish community for the centuries of injustice they have suffered in the United States.

6

READING NUMBER

BLACK MUSLIM PROGRAM

by Elijah Muhammad*

Elijah Muhammad is the founder of the Black Muslim religion. His followers believe he is the messenger of Allah, the Muslim God.



Think about the following question while you read:

The Declaration of Independence attempted to justify colonial demands for separation from the British Empire. The Muslim program tries to justify the Muslim demand for a separate Black Nation. Which document presents the most convincing argument? (It might be helpful and interesting to read the Declaration of Independence before beginning the discussion.)

* Reprinted from *Muhammad Speaks*, February 16, 1973, p. 32.

WHAT THE MUSLIMS WANT

This is the question asked most frequently by both the whites and the blacks. The answers to this question I shall state as simply as possible.

1. We want freedom. We want a full and complete freedom.

2. We want justice. Equal justice under the law. We want justice applied equally to all, regardless of creed or class or color.

3. We want equality of opportunity. We want equal membership in society with the best in civilized society.

4. We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own — either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and mineral rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years — until we are able to produce and supply our own needs.

Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own.

5. We want freedom for all Believers of Islam now held in federal prisons. We want freedom for all black men and women now under death sentence in innumerable prisons in the North as well as the South.

We want every black man and woman to have the freedom to accept or reject being separated from the slave master's children and establish a land of their own.

We know that the above plan for the solution of the black and white conflict is the best and only answer to the problem between two people.

6. We want an immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States.

We believe that the Federal government should intercede to see that black men and women tried in white courts receive justice in accordance with the laws of the land — or allow us to build a new nation for ourselves, dedicated to justice, freedom and liberty.

7. As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States, but equal employment opportunities — NOW!

We do not believe that after 400 years of free or nearly free labor, sweat and blood, which has helped America become rich and powerful, that so many thousands of black people should have to subsist on relief, charity or live in poor houses.

8. We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from ALL taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land.

The aboriginal people of the earth, must learn today that the time has now come for them to either unite with their own Black brothers or suffer the consequences. It is factual. You must know that this is the time of trying to force unity and integration with those who have made merchandise of you, and who still do not want you as a member of their society.

Elijah Muhammed in **Muhammed Speaks**, April 6, 1973, p. 16.

9. We want equal education — but separate schools up to 16 for boys and 18 for girls on the condition that the girls be sent to women's colleges and universities. We want all black children educated, taught and trained by their own teachers.

Under such schooling system we believe we will make a better nation of people. The United States government should provide, free, all necessary text books and equipment, schools and college buildings. The Muslim teachers shall be left free to teach and train their people in the way of righteousness, decency and self respect.

10. We believe that intermarriage or race mixing should be prohibited. We want the religion of Islam taught without hindrance or suppression.

These are some of the things that we, the Muslims, want for our people in North America.

WHAT THE MUSLIMS BELIEVE

1. **WE BELIEVE** in the One God Whose proper Name is Allah.

2. **WE BELIEVE** in the Holy Qur-an and in the Scriptures of all the Prophets of God.

3. **WE BELIEVE** in the truth of the Bible, but we believe that it has been tampered with and must be reinterpreted so that mankind will not be snared by the falsehoods that have been added to it.

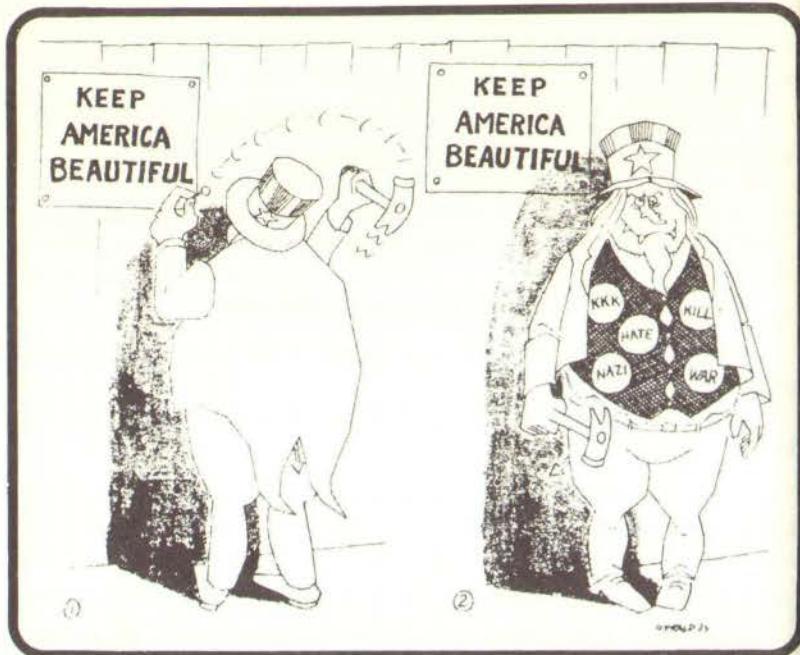
4. **WE BELIEVE** in Allah's Prophets and the Scriptures they brought to the people.

5. **WE BELIEVE** in the resurrection of the dead — not in physical resurrection — but in mental resurrection. We believe that the so-called Negroes are most in need of mental resurrection; therefore, they will be resurrected first.

Furthermore, we believe we are the people of God's choice, as it has been written, that God would choose the rejected and the despised. We can find no other persons fitting this description in these last days more than the so-called Negroes in America. We believe in the resurrection of the righteous.

6. **WE BELIEVE** in the judgement; we believe this first judgement will take place as God revealed, in America . . .

7. **WE BELIEVE** this is the time in history for the separation of the so-called Negroes and the so-called white Americans. We believe the black man should be freed in name as well as in fact. By this we mean that he should be freed from the names imposed upon him by his former slave masters. Names which identified him as being the slave master's slave. We believe that if we are free indeed, we should go in our own people's names — the black peoples of the earth.



8. WE BELIEVE in justice for all, whether in God or not; we believe as others, that we are due equal justice as human beings. We believe in equality — as a nation — of equals. We do not believe that we are equal with our slave masters in the status of "freed slaves."

We recognize and respect American citizens as independent peoples and we respect their laws which govern this nation.

9. WE BELIEVE that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their "friends." Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation.

If the white people are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negro, they can prove it by dividing up America with their slaves.

We do not believe that America will ever be able to furnish enough jobs for her own millions of unemployed, in addition to jobs for the 20,000,000 black people as well.

10. WE BELIEVE that we who declared ourselves to be righteous Muslims, should not participate in wars which take the lives of humans. We do not believe this nation should force us to take part in such wars, for we have nothing to gain from it unless America agrees to give us the necessary territory wherein we may have something to fight for.

11. WE BELIEVE our women should be respected and protected as the women of other nationalities are respected and protected.

12. WE BELIEVE that Allah (God) appeared in the Person of Master W. Fard Muhammad, July, 1930; the long-awaited "Messiah" of the Christians and the "Mahdi" of the Muslims.

We believe further and lastly that Allah is God and besides HIM there is no God and He will bring about a universal government of peace wherein we all can live in peace together.

EXERCISE 4

EVALUATING COMPLAINTS AND DEMANDS

Analyze the following similar statements from the Declaration of Independence and The Muslim Program. Both of these documents present complaints of oppression and of unfair treatment. Using your knowledge of history and current events, determine which party, the colonialists or the Muslims, have the most justifiable complaint or demand in each case.

Statements from the Declaration of Independence

Case 1 "All men are created equal, . . . they are endowed with certain unalienable Rights."

Case 2 "That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

Case 3 "Depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury."

Case 4 "Imposing taxes on us without our consent."

Statements from the Muslim Program

"We want justice applied equally to all."

"We believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for a complete separation in a state or territory of our own."

"We believe that the Federal government should intercede to see that black men and women tried in white courts receive justice in accordance with the laws of the land."

"We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from ALL taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land."

THE IMPERIAL WIZARD EXPLAINS THE KLAN

by Margaret Long*

Margaret Long is the editor of the Southern Regional Council's magazine, **New South**. In the following article she discusses the Klan and includes comments by Robert Shelton.

Reflect on the following questions while you read:

1. According to Robert Shelton what are the basic goals of the Klan?
2. How does Shelton relate activities of the Communists to what he terms the "Negro movement"?
3. What does Shelton mean by Caucasian communities?
4. Shelton speaks of the full moon and its relationship to Negro activity. What is this relationship?
5. Why does Shelton say Jews cannot join the Klan?

*From **New York Times Magazine**, July 5, 1964, pp. 8, 25, 26 c 1964 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted with permission of the author and publisher.

IMPERIAL WIZARD — Robert Shelton, of Tuscaloosa, who organized the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klans, Inc. He seeks to create a "new image" of the Klan.



The Klan, Shelton said, "*is my entire dedication.*" He has no time for sports, hobbies or other pleasures except occasional visits from Klan friends at home, and his exercise is "*running all over the country.*"

The Sheltons have two daughters and a son, aged 7, 5 and 2.

Shelton smiled at a mention of the published estimates of Klan membership. He said 65,000 "*is closer to the neighborhood of the Alabama Klan alone.*"

"*Secrecy in the business of membership is one of our biggest weapons,*" he said. "*If we boast about it then we lose advantage.*" He said the Klan is "*very active*" in states in the North, East and West, is well organized in Alabama, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Georgia, and is having a "*great increase in membership and activity in Mississippi, where it is now open and aboveboard.*" California membership "*is very strong,*" he said, but "*we can't come out openly, because the Communist conspiracy is strong and the Klan must not show its hand.*"

"*We've had a very rapid increase since we got chartered, an increase more than we can take care of. We do not have the desire of a rush of volume membership. We don't*

want people of an emotional crowd feeling, or leaders to satisfy that excited emotional feeling, that can stomp and talk at meetings, and then they'll go out and beat or kill a nigger. No, we wish to provide satisfaction to people in a more constructive manner."

He said his new Klan "has a staff of 13 or 14 men — several lawyers, members of church boards and bank boards." Dues, he said, vary with local klaverns.

"The Klan image," Shelton went on rapidly, "has been so misrepresented in various news medias, misrepresenting that the Klansmen are living on a theory of hate and fear. . . . The Klan symbolizes the Reconstruction. We try to keep the Klan today on the same pedestal of history, of the Reconstruction past, when there were no laws to defend the Southerner under the cruel heel of Federal oppression.

"We are promoting mass education on the general program to the general public to inform them who our enemies are, what they are, the methods employed and how they are to be countered. Though not a political organization, we realize that, utilizing the law of self-preservation, to survive, we must be involved in politics, to extend the Klan program of voter registration."

The Klan education program, he said, has "many stages." One of them is "research on textbooks in schools."

"It is one means of the conspiracy to formulate an alien ideology among young children," and the Klan "contemplates to execute a program of the true writing of history." School officials, he explained, are often innocent of the conspiracy's distorting hand in school books, "and when it is called to their attention, many of them do not have a knowledge of what is taking place in our schools."

He did not name any objectionable books, but said: "The most liberal trend is in the higher echelons of intellect. . . . We find types of fellow travelers in various walks of life. . . . We'll formulate a list of completely falsified textbooks, the constant attempt to create in a young child the beliefs that Southerners have always been backward, hating the nigra and unprogressive."

"The Southerner," he declared, "has progressed with the nigra on his shoulders farther than any other section of the country in every area of civilization and society. The War Between the States resulted, particularly in the South-

eastern part of the United States, in the South being parched by burning and destroyed in Sherman's march. The South had to completely rebuild and revamp our civilization. And we had to carry the blunt weight of him, the nigra, in the uphill struggle against unfair freight rates, carpet-baggers, scalawags and Federal laws against us."

The North, Shelton observed, "is jealous of the South, our progress beyond them, of many individuals moving South to enjoy our production, our attitudes and our labor forces."

He said Southerners and Klansmen "have no hate for the nigra." They believe "there is a place in society for all persons and races, but you cannot pass or legislate class and social equality. The nigra must study and try to gain this level, rather than force it by legislation. . . . He has far more economy in the South, more business and private ownership, more homes owned by nigras, than in any other part of the country."

Mr. Shelton was for years a member of Local 351 of the United Rubber Workers. He said he believes in unions, but feels that they are "at the national level, infiltrated and rotten . . . with no regard for the Southerner, and control and manipulate us for advantage and capacity in the North. Walter Reuther is an admitted worker to set up a Socialist republic, a Socialist America."

Mr. Shelton considers the Negro movement for integration and the national labor movement to be intertwined in a conspiracy to take Southern union dues "to finance Communistic programs of integration in the South. Using the money and using the nigra as a tool, they continue to utilize and use M.L. King (The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.), Shuttlesworth (The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and the N.A.A.C.P. to be more militant participants in racial demonstrations, and they (the Communists) in turn slip into the background and wrest control."

"I firmly believe," he went on, "that M.L. King will be eliminated by his own people — will be assassinated."

"The nigra is beginning to realize that when his people are desegregated, that where the movement has taken hold, that they are affiliated with known Communists, and that it brings about the destruction of his own economy, and the

nigra businesses had to close their doors. Many well-meaning *nigras* know their own people are being used by Communists."

The Imperial Wizard shares the current fashionable concern with poverty and unemployment, and offers the solution of restricting immigration.

"Cheap labor from foreign countries and a flood of immigration creates more problems," he said. *"In foreign countries they look on America as a place to get milk and honey, but their loyalty remains for the motherland across the waters. They are not for our republican form of government. Some of them return to the motherland and still receive their Social Security."*

There are rights which the negro race and all other colored races have as citizens of this country which the white race — the ruling race — is bound to respect, but they must not, individually or collectively, lose sight of the fact that the white race is the ruling race by right of inheritance; and that it does not intend to surrender this right or to compromise it with any other race — black, yellow or brown.

Robert M. Shelton, *An Introduction to the United Klans of America*, Office of the Imperial Wizard, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

The Klan believes the poll tax is "a necessary method, disregarding race. We require some method of selecting individuals intelligent enough to elect the leadership to enact the laws that govern us." Shelton himself "would advocate some aptitude test similar to those given men in the armed services, and then they could not holler discrimination."

He conceded gravely: "If a *nigra* had the ability to pass such tests, he should have the right to vote. You have the immoral aspects of *nigras* who do not have the ability to write their names and can be controlled by a carton of cigarettes or a carton of beer; some whites, too, can be controlled. We must select citizens who have the ability to vote for leadership which will enact laws for not only you and I but future generations."

The Klan is deeply concerned over the welfare program known as Aid to Dependent Children.

*"Most *nigra* women have a better contract with the welfare and A.D.C. than unions have with management,"* Mr. Shelton offered, with a rare, quick smile. *"A mother gets \$30 for each illegitimate child, and then some of them, her children, are getting the same check for her illegitimate grandchildren. And they make the rounds of all the surplus food, welfare offices and churches, and the more illegitimate children they have, the better they can live. Go to the reciprocants of welfare and you'll see the TV antenna on the house, and a good sound auto in the front yard. They drive late-model Cadillacs and Buicks to the surplus food lines. Should we carry the tab to support such families?"*

The Klan program to buy up tracts of land and settle white people in Caucasian communities to avoid integration is "still in the planning stage, in the future," Shelton said.

"We are researching the possibilities and our legal staff is at work on it, and we're interested in it because we're coming under a governing dictatorial body. These reservations will be a sanctity, where a man is to continue to raise up a family and have his beliefs respected."

Unlike most white segregationists, the Imperial Wizard does not profess love for Negroes in their place. Mrs. Shelton has "a white lady" who takes care of her children because he wants them "raised in a Caucasian atmosphere."

The Klan believes that America is a white man's country, and should be governed by white men. Yet the Klan is not anti-Negro, it is the Negro's friend. The Klan is eternally opposed to the mixing of the white and the colored races. Our creed: Let the white man remain white, the black man black, the yellow man yellow, the brown man brown, and the red man red. God drew the color line, and man should so let it remain, read Acts 17:26 if you please.

From a pamphlet by the Office of the Imperial Wizard defining principles of the United Klans of America.

"I have a lot of nigras I'm in contact with, who pass on information to us and who have no regard for this movement," he said. "It is infringing on their own beliefs and principles, and they are intimidated and harassed. They say they have a boycott here and they have their own goon squads to harass and intimidate Negroes and snatch packages out of their hands and threaten them."

"They threaten more demonstrations. I welcome them; it shows their ignorance and stupidity. If they flout the laws, we are going to see that they uphold the law. As long as the police can handle it, we'll give them the opportunity, and if they can't, we'll use whatever means are necessary. They will not be allowed to openly flout the citizenry of this town or any town."

He expects a "spontaneous rise" in Negro activity "when the moon comes full. My research shows that the full moon brings out the animal instincts, increases their excitement, and they become violent, restless, inclined to get in trouble and brawls."

I asked Mr. Shelton about cross burnings in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama and about attacks, some by sheeted men, on Negroes.

"The Klan has not brought about any propagation of violence and intimidation," he declared. "In many cases, nigras are told that the Klan is responsible for violence against them; stories are exaggerated. The conspiracy will stoop to no level. The violence may be associated, yes, but it is not Klan work. There are, also, a number of Klans."

Of current Klan attitudes toward Catholics and Jews, he said: "A foreign section of a sect or belief, or allegiance to a religious body — in some cases Catholics have been pushed to the limit. Leander Perez (the Louisiana segregationist who was excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church for his war on parochial-school desegregation) rather than bow down to his diocese was excommunicated; he would not be loyal to a mandate or ruling rather than his conviction."

"The argument as to why Jews don't belong to the Klan is belief in Christ. We are a Christian, Protestant fraternal organization, and they believe in the Messiah, Jehovah and other figures, but not Christ. If a Jewish person is a Communist person, we should not be considered

anti-Semitic for exposing this person. And many Jews have been found in the Communist conspiracy."

The Klan wants "each race to promote its own culture, to inculcate race pride." But, he added, desegregation "is disrupting and breaking down all connections and communications, so people who five years ago would think nothing of throwing 50 cents or a dollar into the hat of a nigra now won't do it."

EXERCISE 5

CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATIONSHIPS

This discussion exercise provides practice in the skill of analyzing cause and effect relationships. Causes of human conflict and social problems are usually very complex. The following statements indicate possible causes for racial unrest and conflict. Rank them by assigning the number (1) to the most important cause, number (2) to the second most important, and so on until the ranking is finished. Omit any statements you feel are not causative factors. Add any causes you think have been left out. Then discuss and compare your decisions with other class members.

- a. The international communist conspiracy
- b. Unreasonable demands by black Americans
- c. Racial discrimination by white Americans
- d. A natural consequence of two races living together in the same society
- e. Rioting by black people in American cities
- f. Anti-Negro activity by white racist organizations
- g. Segregation in public school systems
- h. Segregated housing in American communities
- i. Failure of political leaders to pass laws and fund programs that would help black people
- j. Segregated labor unions

5

READING NUMBER 8

BLACK MANIFESTO - AN INTRODUCTION

by James Foreman*

For six years James Foreman was the first executive director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and a key figure in the civil rights movement. The following is the introduction to the "Black Manifesto" presented by James Foreman at the Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit on April 26, 1969. This document demanded a \$500 million reparation payment from the American Christian-Jewish community for centuries of injustice to black people.



As you read try to answer the following questions:

1. How does James Foreman describe the United States? Evaluate his supporting evidence.
2. What kind of government does Foreman advocate for the United States?
3. Try to imagine how well educated citizens of Sweden, Cuba, Mexico, Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, India, Communist China, Japan, Russia, England and France might view Foreman's ideas.

*From *Human Events*, July 5, 1969, p. 11. Copyright 1969 by Human Events, Inc. Reprinted with permission.

We have come from all over the country, burning with anger and despair not only with the miserable economic plight of our people, but fully aware that the racism on which the Western World was built dominates our lives. There can be no separation of the problems of racism from the problems of our economic, political, and cultural degradation. To any black man, this is clear.

But there are still some of our people who are clinging to the rhetoric of the Negro and we must separate ourselves from those Negroes who go around the country promoting all types of schemes for black capitalism.

Ironically, some of the most militant "black nationalists," as they call themselves, have been the first to jump on the bandwagon of black capitalism. They are pimps; black power pimps and fraudulent leaders and the people must be educated to understand that any black man or Negro who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism inside the United States is in fact seeking not only his ultimate destruction and death, but is contributing to the continuous exploitation of black people all around the world.

For it is the power of the United States government, this racist, imperialist government, that is choking the life of all people around the world.

We are an African people. We sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East, but we are not concerned actively about the plight of our brothers in Africa. We are the most advanced technological group of black people in the world, and there are many skills that could be offered to Africa.

At the same time, it must be publicly stated that many African leaders are in disarray themselves, having been duped into following the lines as laid out by the Western imperialist governments.

In Africa today there is a great suspicion of black people in this country. This is a correct suspicion, since most of the Negroes who have left the States for Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the State Department.

But the respect for us as a people continues to mount and the day will come when we can return to our homelands as brothers and sisters.

But we should not think of going back to Africa today, for we are located in a strategic position. We live inside the U.S., which is the most barbaric country in the world and we have a chance to help bring this government down.

Time is short and we do not have much time and it is time we stop mincing words. Caution is fine, but no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight, to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer.

We have heard the rhetoric but we have not heard the rhetoric which says that black people in this country must understand that we are the vanguard force. We shall liberate all the people in the U.S. and we will be instrumental in the liberation of colored people the world around. We must understand this point very clearly so that we are not trapped into diversionary and reactionary movements.

Any class analysis of the U.S. shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside the United States. We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution, but we are not talking about just making the revolution.

All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the vanguard but we must assume leadership, total control, and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the U.S.

We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese, for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our soul and all the compassion we can mount goes out to our brothers in Africa, Santo Domingo, Latin America and Asia, who are being tricked by the power structure of the U.S. which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism.

We no longer can just get by with the use of the word "capitalism" to describe the U.S., for it is an imperial power, sending money, missionaries and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it.



General Motors and all the major auto industries are operating in South Africa, yet the white-dominated leadership of the United Auto Workers sees no relationship to the exploitation of black people in the U.S. If they understand it, they certainly do not put it into practice, which is the actual test.

We as black people must be concerned with the total conditions of all black people in the world.

But while we talk of revolution which will be an armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerrilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in.

We must commit ourselves to a society taken from the rich and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control.

And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists. The time has passed when we are second in command and the white boy stands on top.

I contend that the continuation of capitalism, of whatever color, Black, white, yellow, brown or red, will not strike at the root of the problem, but only continue to give us more of the same, namely, exploitation of the great mass of Black people, while a few enrich themselves.

In fact, there is no such thing as Black or white capitalism. It is not based on color. It is a system in which the means of production exist for one purpose — to make profits. In the pursuit of profits, a capitalist will exploit people, no matter what color they are.

Claude Lightfoot in *World Magazine*, January 4, 1973, p. M-7.

This is especially true of the welfare agencies in this country, but it is not enough to say that a black man is on top. He must be committed to building the new society, to taking the wealth away from the rich people such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and all the other rich white exploiters and racists who run this world.

Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment when we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves and now we must resist the attempts to make us capitalists.

It is in the financial interest of the U.S. to make us capitalists, for this will be the same line as that of integration into the mainstream of American life.

Therefore, brothers and sisters, there is no need to fall into the trap that we have to get an ideology. We have an ideology. Our fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism and we are dedicated to building a Socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the state and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world.

And, therefore, we obviously are different from some of those who seek a black nation in the United States, for there

is no way for that nation to be viable if in fact the United States remains in the hands of white racists.

Then, too, let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership, for that is the only protection that black people have to protect ourselves from racism rising again in this country.

Racism in the U.S. is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well-disciplined black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few thousand dollars for this cooperative, or a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government.

We say think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare ourselves to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world, the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the U.S.

It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. This will take some long-range planning, but whether it happens in 1,000 years is of no consequence. It cannot happen unless we start. How then is all of this related to this conference?

First of all, this conference is called by a set of religious people, Christians, who have been involved in the exploitation and rape of black people since the country was founded. The missionary goes hand in hand with the power of the states.

We must begin seizing power wherever we are and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people who have assembled here thank you for getting us here, but we are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction in which we want it to go.

We are not saying that the conference was planned badly. The staff of the conference has worked hard and has done a magnificent job in bringing all of us together and we must include them in the new membership which must sur-

face from this point on.

The conference is now the property of the people who are assembled here. This we proclaim as fact and not rhetoric and there are demands that we are going to make and we insist that the planners of this conference help us implement them.

We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going to Africa and raping our motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619.

EXERCISE 6

EVALUATING SOURCES

A critical thinker must always question his various sources of information. Historians, for example, usually distinguish between **primary sources** (eyewitness accounts) and **secondary sources** (writings based on primary or eyewitness accounts, or other secondary sources). Most textbooks are examples of secondary sources. A diary written by a Civil War veteran is one example of a primary source. In order to be a critical reader one must be able to recognize primary sources. However, this is not enough. Eyewitness accounts do not always provide accurate descriptions. Historians may find ten different eyewitness accounts of an event and all the accounts might interpret the event differently. Then they must decide which of these accounts provide the most objective and accurate interpretations.

Test your skill in evaluating sources by participating in the following exercise. Pretend you are living 2000 years in the future. Your teacher tells you to write an essay about the causes of racial conflict in America between 1960 and 1970. Consider carefully each of the following source descriptions. First, **underline** only those descriptions you feel would serve as a primary source for your essay. Second, **rank** only the underlined or primary sources assigning the number (1) to the most objective and accurate primary source, number (2) to the next most accurate and so on until the ranking is finished. Then discuss and compare your evaluations with other class members.

Assume that all of the following essays, articles, and books deal with the broad problem of racial conflict in America and its causes.

- 1. A book by President Nixon
- 2. An essay by a Japanese journalist written in 1962
- 3. An article by Fidel Castro
- 4. A book by President Kennedy
- 5. An essay by an American sociologist written in 1968
- 6. An article by George Wallace
- 7. The first essay in this book by Eldridge Cleaver
- 8. The article you just read by James Foreman
- 9. A 1964 newspaper editorial by a Cleveland banker
- 10. A book by Martin Luther King
- 11. An essay by Stokely Carmichael
- 12. The article in this book by the National Socialist White People's Party
- 13. A 1965 newspaper editorial by a black policeman working in Harlem
- 14. A 1965 essay by a white policeman working in Harlem
- 15. A 1965 television interview of a white policeman working in an all white suburb

AN INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE WALLACE*

The following excerpts are taken from an interview with George Wallace before the presidential campaign of 1968. The questions by Robert G. Sherrill serve as an adequate guide to the reading.



*From Robert G. Sherrill, *George Wallace, Running for God, Nation*, May 8, 1968, pp. 591-93. Copyright 1969 in the U.S. A. by the Nation Associates, Inc. Reprinted with permission.

Q. *You've had nothing but racial troubles in Alabama. What are you going to suggest, as a Presidential candidate, to cure the nation's racial problems?*

A. The first thing we've got to do to get rid of racial trouble is get rid of hypocrisy. The liberal says the nigger should be integrated, and then the liberal Congressman sends his kids to a private school. Harold Howe (U.S. Commissioner of Education) sends his kids to a private school. It makes the niggers wonder. In Madison, Wis., a woman came up to me and said it was awful the way niggers are treated. She said she knew a nigger with a college diploma running an elevator in that town. I told her if she would give me his name and address I would get him a job in a nigger college in Alabama. This is a state where a nigger can aspire to be a college president, but he can't in New York City.

My wife received 40 per cent of the nigger vote. She carried the nigger vote in Selma. These niggers know I want them to get educated. The only thing that stands between economic integration and the Alabama nigger is an education, and I want him to get it. The niggers are coming out of these trade schools and going to work for \$40 a day, or at least \$100 a week. I have them tell me, "Governor, we're for you because you educated us." I built eight trade schools just for niggers. They're segregated in a way, but if you want to go out there and enroll, they'll enroll you. A nigger woman cooking in a cafe called me back to the kitchen to thank me for the free textbooks her kids are getting.

Q. *If education is all that stands between the Negro and economic integration, and if Alabama has so many good trade schools and junior colleges for Negroes, why are there no Negro secretaries and no Negro bookkeepers and other office help working here in the capitol?*

A. We have more Negro employees in Alabama state government than in California and New York put together. (Yes, he did say "Negro" — the word sometimes passes his lips.) I forget the exact figure in those states, but I'm sure we have more. We have 8,000 Negro teachers, and their average pay check — because they're better educated than the white teachers — is higher than the whites'.

Q. *You're talking only about teachers. Why aren't some of these well-trained Negroes working here in the capitol building? I don't see any.*

A. Well, you say they should be hired, and then when I tell you we have hired them, you say they should be hired here. That's the way with you liberals. You want to tell people not only who to hire but where to hire them.

Q. *Something must be wrong with your system of befriending the Negroes, since Alabama Negroes show one of the highest rates of venereal disease, illiteracy and poverty.*

"I'm not just against the government telling you you've got to sell your home to a nigger. I would be just as much against the government telling you you can't sell your home to a nigger."

A. You have to understand their problem historically.

Q. *All right, so you will campaign for more education for Negroes. What else?*

A. The second thing you've got to do is give more protection. The Negroes want more "*police-es*" (this is Wallace's "*Negroizing*" of the plural for police), too. They hide under the beds in Harlem during those riots. They want strict law enforcement. The courts wouldn't let us limit the number of marchers in the Selma march, so 40,000 marchers came into this town of 140,000. But the courts let them limit the number of marchers in Chicago. There's a town of 5 or 6 million but they limited the march to 500. That's where the marchers need protection, in the North, not down here. That's where lots of police protection is necessary just for living.

If a white man poked, pinched and fiddled with a nigger woman on the street here, he'd get the hell knocked out of him by a policeman. Same if a nigger man did that to a white woman. We know how to live together down here. You can walk through the nigger section without fear. A nigger can walk through the white section. We've got good law enforcement in Alabama. (This was the day after the third church burning in a week in Lowndes County.) The intellectual morons think people should be forced to mingle. That's not the way to get along with each other. I don't think the

niggers are inferior, but integration just doesn't work out. There have been twelve stabbings in schools in Alabama where the races are mixed.

I'm not just against the government telling you you've got to sell your home to a nigger. I would be just as much against the government telling you you *can't* sell your home to a nigger. I'm against the government telling you anything about selling your home. Manufacturers who move in here tell me "*We've got to hire some niggers, you know, Governor,*" and I say, "*I don't care if you hire 100 per cent niggers. I think you should hire whoever you want to hire. That's your business, not the government's.*" If a local school board wanted to integrate, I wouldn't like it, I would be against it, but I wouldn't try to stop it. (This was about a week before he wrote the speech for Lurleen in which she implied that the state might seize forceably any school that was integrated to make it resume its segregated ways. About forty of 118 school districts in Alabama have complied with HEW guidelines voluntarily.) I'm not against a local school doing anything it wants, what I'm against is the intellectual morons trying to force their preferences on other people. I'm for what will work, not for theorizin', and we have found that segregation works best. All this theorizin' has got Cleveland and Detroit and New York in a lot of trouble.

Q. *Why are you down on the "intellectual morons," as you call them? Why are you down on the intellectuals?*

A. They're always trying to get their theorizin' forced on people. They think everything that HEW wants it should get, and I don't think HEW is any smarter than the people of Alabama. The intellectual morons in New York wanted to recognize Castro, and I used to tell the folks during my campaign: "*Those intellectual morons couldn't see Castro was a Communist, but you people with just common sense could see that just by looking at his picture, just by instincts.*" The instincts of a common-sense Alabamian is better than the brains of a New York intellectual moron.

Q. *Your distaste for intellectuals, does that mean you didn't do very well in college?*

A. I made average grades.

Q. *Do you read much? What do you read?*

A. (After a long pause.) I read mostly magazines but I read some books.

Q. What books do you read?

A. Well, I even read *Das Kapital* once, but I couldn't understand it. Can you? (Three years ago in Baltimore he was asked a similar question; his head snapped back as though he were dodging a punch and he answered: "That question is 'bout to get me. Course I read Socrates, Plato and Aristotle and all those folks. And Machiavelli.") I like to read books like Lee's *Lieutenants*. I like books about the Civil War best, about people dying for a cause, brave men, North and South.

"These niggers know I want them to get educated. The only thing that stands between economic integration and the Alabama nigger is an education, and I want him to get it."

Q. Brave people like the protesters who came South and got knocked in the head by Al Lingo's policemen?

A. No, they got more protection here than they would have got in the North, and besides they wanted to be hurt to embarrass the South. Northern politicians are always complaining because we don't give protection down here. Hell, Martin Luther King can come to Alabama without protection, but when I go to Boston they have to lead me through tunnels for protection.

Couple of years ago, Governor Dempsey of Connecticut wired me criticizing, and they were about to tear down New Haven around his ears right then. Pat Brown wired me that they knew how to live together out there — Nigger-Americans, Spanish-Americans, Polish-Americans, Italian-Americans, French-Americans and all sorts of hyphenated Americans — and while I was reading his wire, the niggers was burning down Watts. A lot of people told me I should wire him back, "I told you so," but I don't believe in making political capital out of that sort of thing. A reporter asked me if it didn't please me to see Brown's troubles, and I said it certainly did not please me to have that sort of thing

happen. Governor Egan of Alaska wired me and said I should stop causing all the racial trouble and I drafted a wire saying he must have caused the Alaska earthquake with all his loud talk, but I didn't send it. I don't like to stoop to that level.

Q. What has President Johnson failed to do that you would have done if you were President?

A. If I was President, I would have the Justice Department grab them by the long hair — these intellectual morons, these professors, students tearing up their draft cards, raising money and blood for the Vietcong — and have them charged with treason, have them tried and put away. I'm not talking about the men who write we shouldn't be over there or dissenters in Congress. I'm talking about those who actually help the enemy. We're at war. It doesn't matter whether Johnson had the legal right to send the troops over there.

Q. You didn't like it when President Kennedy sent the National Guard to Tuscaloosa to throw you out of the schoolhouse door. In fact, you thought Kennedy was acting illegally and you have said so a thousand times. If you are on the side of the soldiers in Vietnam, whether or not the President was legally correct in sending them there, why weren't you on the side of the soldiers and what they were doing at Tuscaloosa, whether Kennedy was legally right or not?

A. That was different. I didn't have to be on the soldiers' side. They were on my side. As (Deputy Attorney General Nicholas) Katzenbach walked by them, some of the soldiers called him a dirty bastard and a sonofabitch. They said: "Why don't you get out of here, you dirty bastard," and things like that. I think if Katzenbach and his crowd had laid a hand on me, the soldiers and the troopers there, well, they just wouldn't have allowed it. I know that General Graham, we didn't see eye to eye in all things, but I think he would have asked to be relieved before he would have ordered the troops to lay a hand on me. The Birmingham papers reported he said: "It is my duty to take over." Why, hell, everybody knows he said: "It is my sad duty."

Q. Many people say that little episode at the University of Alabama was rehearsed by you and the U.S. Attorney General. Bob Gilchrist (a former Alabama state Senator) said everybody in the legislature knew of what script you

were going to follow.

A. That scene wasn't worked out beforehand. Robert Kennedy wanted to, but I wouldn't do it. I have a record of our discussion. If he consents to release the record, so will I.

Q. Anyway you lost that fuss at the University just as you have lost all your other segregation fusses with the government.

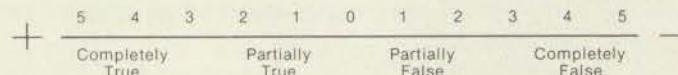
A. I didn't say we could win it. I just said we would call attention to the liberties that are being stolen all over this country. That's all. That's why I stood at the door.

EXERCISE 7

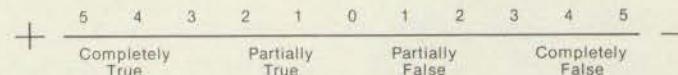
ABILITY TO DISCRIMINATE

Usually difficult situations fail to present easy choices. Real life problems are too complex to permit simple choices between absolute right and wrong. The following exercise will test your ability to discriminate between degrees of truth and falsehood by completing the questionnaire. Circle the number on the continuum which most closely identifies your evaluation regarding each statement's degree of truth or falsehood.

1. Every major university should have a black studies department.



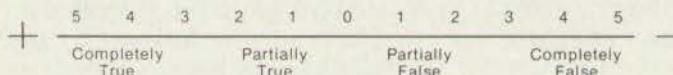
2. Students should have a voice in faculty selection.



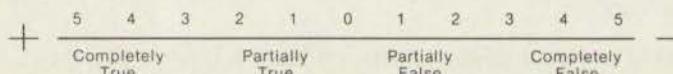
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READING NUMBER

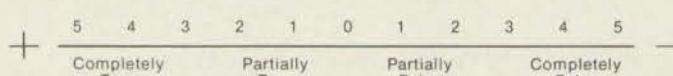
3. A student committee, elected by the student body, should be responsible for the selection of faculty members.



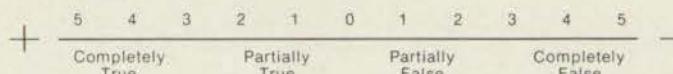
4. All black students desiring admission to universities should be admitted.



5. Universities should have separate departments for all major ethnic groups.



6. Students should have a voice in determining curriculum content.



CAPITALISM PROMOTES RACISM

by Louis Fisher

Louis Fisher was the Socialist Labor Party candidate for president in 1972. The following comments by Fisher are excerpted from his reply to questions from the editors of the magazine, **Bridge**, sometimes described as *The Magazine of Asians in America*. Fisher's reply appeared in **Bridge** and the **Weekly People**, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.



*From Louis Fisher, *Presidential Candidate Fisher on Racism*, **Weekly People**, September 9, 1972, pp. 1-2. Reprinted with permission.



QUESTION NO. 1: In your opinion, to what extent is race a factor in the Vietnam war? Do you feel the U.S. would have dropped the same massive tonnage of bombs in Vietnam, both North and South, if Vietnam was an European country?

ANSWER: Race is a factor in the Vietnam war, just as race, religion, nationalism, etc., have been factors in all modern wars. The rulers of nations involved in wars have resorted time and again to jingoism to whip up support for "the war effort." And they have never hesitated to exploit racial, national and/or religious differences to whip up "hatred for the enemy."

The Vietnam war is no exception. Racism was a weapon available to the American imperialists. The seeds for it had been planted decades ago through the racist and nationalist policies and propaganda of the American capitalist class during the years of industrial expansion. During that period, it ruthlessly exploited Chinese workers whom it had enticed here because of its need for a cheap source of labor power. Additional racist seeds were planted by the American ruling class at the turn of the century to camouflage its exploitation of "The Yellow Menace" and to justify its expansionist designs in Japan, China, and elsewhere. And no doubt many Americans have been victimized by this false propaganda and look upon and think of Asian peoples as inferior, just as they had been conditioned by years of ruling-class propaganda to think of and look upon black people as inferior.

However, a debate over the degree to which racism has been a factor in determining the brutality and viciousness of America's imperialist war machine during the Vietnam war (or during any war) would in my judgment serve to distract attention from the basic questions that we ought to consider, namely: What is the basic cause of the war that has brought such misery and heaped such destruction on the Vietnamese people, that has resulted in the death of over 50,000 American soldiers; maimed and crippled hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, on both sides, and what can we do to establish basis for peace and human brotherhood among all races?

QUESTION NO. 2: Do you feel that the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II points to a basic malaise in American society — the non-acceptance of people of Asian ancestry? Is it possible that such persecution of Asian people can recur in this country?

ANSWER: The internment of the Japanese-Americans during World War II is an example of the degree of suppression that a frightened or desperate ruling class will resort to when it believes its material interests to be threatened. It was not the American people — the overwhelming majority of whom are workers — who conceived and created the internment camps, but the American ruling class. There is an explanation of the social conditions that made it possible for that ruling class to carry out its despicable policy of internment without eliciting a widespread outcry of protest and indignation from the

American workers. It is to be found in the economic and material factors that are generated by the outmoded capitalist system under which we live.

For example, capitalism's chronic inability to provide decent jobs for all results in bitter competition among workers for the jobs that are available. This, in turn, creates the social soil in which the seeds of race prejudice are planted and exploited. The result is that racial minorities are segregated, humiliated and reduced to what has been described as "second-class citizenship." They are degraded, forced into ghettos and compelled to compete for existing jobs under the most disadvantageous conditions. There they become sources of cheap and unresisting labor for the capitalist to exploit under the most oppressive conditions.

SOCIALISM means collective ownership by all the people of the factories, mills, mines, railroads, land, and all other instruments of wealth production. Socialism means production of things to satisfy human needs, and not, as under capitalism, for sale and profit. Socialism means control and management of the industries and social services by the workers through an economic government democratically constituted on the basis of their nationwide industrial organization.

From the *Weekly People*, March 18, 1972, p. 2.

QUESTION NO. 3: *Historically, Chinese laborers made scapegoats during the depression of the 1880's, and Japanese-Americans suffered a similar fate in the 1920's. In view of the continuing economic recession, do you feel that Asian-Americans are again in danger, bearing the blame for the ills of American society?*

ANSWER: The capitalist class will do everything it can to obscure the fact that the periodic depressions that occur are the inevitable results of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. If during an economic crisis, the ruling class faces social unrest, it will not hesitate to direct the anger and resentment against a specific racial or national minority. "Minority groups" have been used for such nefarious purposes on various occasions when the

need for a scapegoat has been felt by the ruling class. "Chinese laborers" and "Japanese-Americans" are not the only minorities who have been so used, and they are not necessarily the ones who will be so used the next time.

The important thing, in the judgment of myself and the Socialist Labor Party, is that capitalism's periodic depressions have brought misery, suffering and horror to the working class generally. And the "continuing economic recession" menaces not merely Asian-American workers, or workers of other particular nationalities or races, it menaces the entire working class.

And it is as a class that we must deal with that menace. As long as we continue to think in terms of racial, national and/or religious divisions, we workers remain vulnerable to the capitalist tactic of "divide and conquer." Once the workers realize that depressions are the inevitable result of capitalism, they will be invulnerable to the false contention that a special segment of their class is responsible for the economic crisis. . . .

Capitalism is now a society in decay. It has become not only an obstacle to future progress, but a menace to the continued existence of the human race. If the workers of this nation fail to abolish it, we shall be . . . steeped in misery, deprived of our hard-won liberties and freedoms. . . .

Under Socialism we shall make the fields yield an abundance without arduous toil; our factories, mines, mills, etc. will be the safest, the most modern, the most efficient, the most sanitary possible and productive beyond our wildest dreams without laborious work; our natural resources will be intelligently conserved; our educational institutions will have the finest facilities and be devoted to developing complete human beings; our medical and social services will concentrate on creating and maintaining the finest health and recreational facilities conceivable. Then we shall have a society in which poverty and social misery will have been banished forever. We will have eliminated the material conditions that are the basic cause of our most pressing problems — war, depressions, prejudice, etc.

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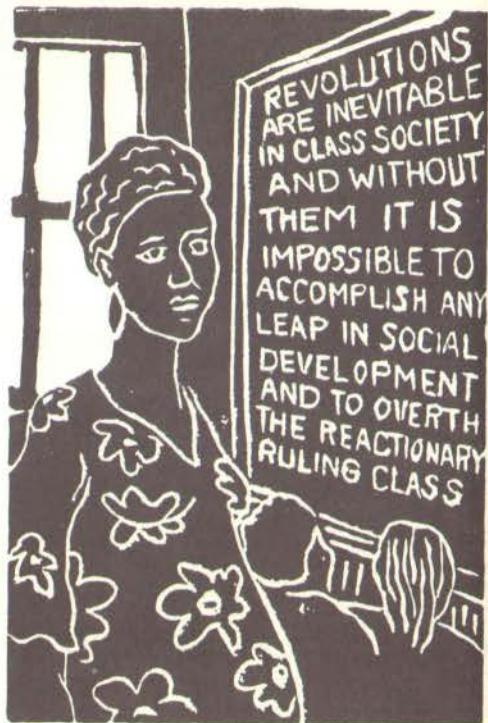
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READING NUMBER 11

U.S. BOSSES PROMOTE RACISM



The following article was excerpted from **Progressive Labor**, the monthly magazine of the Progressive Labor Party.

Consider the following questions while reading:

1. Who are the bosses in America?
2. According to the article, why do they promote racism?
3. What social changes does the Progressive Labor Party propose?

*From The Racists Retreat, **Progressive Labor**, January, 1973, pp. 42-45.

When the bosses decided to launch their present all-out assault on the working class' hard-won standard of living, they knew they would have to intensify racism on every front. They understand that racism is the greatest profit-making idea ever invented, because it sets workers against each other, prevents them from waging class struggle, and serves to justify imperialism and bosses' wars.

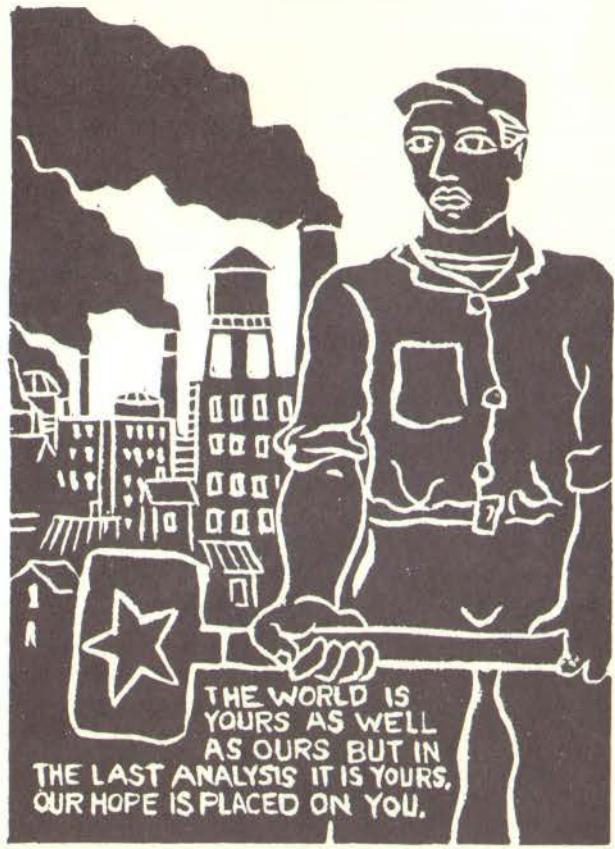
Daniel P. Moynihan, a Harvard "scholar" and one of Nixon's top-level brain-trusters for "urban affairs," paved the way for the present phase of the ruling class' racist campaign when he leaked out a memo he had written to the White House in early 1970. He began by citing a bunch of phony statistics to "prove" that "American Negroes have made extraordinary progress" in every area of life. He went on to warn that "many problems" still confronted the Nixon administration in the area of "race relations."

According to this racist, the most notable of these problems was the "extraordinarily high incidence of anti-social behavior among young black males." . . .

Moynihan understood perfectly that his original claim of "extraordinary progress" was a filthy lie. He knew that the militancy of young black workers was providing key leadership in the class struggle to **all** workers, and he knew he had to come up with some . . . jargon to justify his characterization of this militancy as "neurotic" or even "psychotic" behavior.

Moynihan concluded this memo by stating that the "race issue" had been "too much talked about by hysterics, paranoids, and boodlers on all sides." What he meant, of course, was that the fight against racism had already reached proportions that were beginning to frighten the U.S. government and the banks and corporations it serves. He called for a period of "benign neglect" on the question of racism — meaning a moratorium on organizing **against** the government's upcoming racist attack on the whole working class. If anything, Moynihan's memo, and the widespread publicity it received, were part of a conscious . . . attempt by the U.S. bourgeoisie to dress racism up in new clothes of respectability, by giving it a stamp of "scientific" approval.

The bosses wanted an excuse both to cut back on the already pathetic services they provide and to pave the way for rising unemployment, the wage freeze, . . . and their other schemes. All of a sudden "social scientists,"



"psychologists," and "scholars" from other disciplines in leading universities began publishing articles with "proof" about the "genetic inferiority" of black, Latin, and other non-white workers. . . .

U.S. bosses need racism for the same reason the Nazis did 30 years ago. The initial justification for the imperialist Vietnam war was that the "poor dumb Asians don't understand democracy, so we'll have to help them." Everybody knows by now what form this "help" took — millions of Vietnamese killed, 50,000 Americans dead and 500,000 wounded. The bosses find themselves more and more in competition with imperialists from other countries. Now Ford and GM have started to issue racist statements about

auto workers "undercutting" U.S. workers, hoping that auto workers here will view Japanese workers as their enemies. . . .

There has never been a separate ruling class for blacks, browns, Native Americans, and whites. The ruling class oppresses all as workers.

Earl Ofari, *Marxism-Leninism: The Key To Black Liberation*, *The Black Scholar*, September, 1972.

However, there's a fatal flaw in the bosses' armor. Racism hurts **everybody**, not just the minorities whom it hurts the most obviously and viciously. Black, Latin and white Americans were killed in Vietnam. Black, Latin and white workers and students are affected by the wage freeze, speed-up, unemployment, rising prices, dilapidated schools and murderous medical care.

Most important, black, Latin and white workers, students and professionals are beginning to fight back seriously against racist ideology and its implications. Spearheaded by SDS, an anti-racist campaign has involved thousands of students and faculty on campuses all over the country. The filthy lies of the academic racists and their right to spread these lies have been challenged, and these challenges have been backed with militant struggle. . . .

Racism isn't just a "nasty idea" or something bad that happens to someone else — it's a killer plague the bosses want to bring down on our class, for their own benefit. We can't get rid of it entirely until we've destroyed this whole rotten system and won socialism. But we can wage an uncompromising battle against it now.

EXERCISE 8



Karl Marx, the founder of — and fighter for — scientific socialism, which became known as Marxism: the science of workers' revolution.



J.F. Stalin directed the advance of socialism in the Soviet Union after Lenin. Stalin led the Soviet people in defeating Hitler and fascism.



V.I. Lenin advanced the thinking of Marx into the era of the Proletarian Revolution. He led the workers' revolution in Russia.

REVOLUTION AND CHANGE

The following exercise will explore your attitude toward change. Sometimes change brings progress, other times pain and suffering, and frequently both progress and human suffering and problems are by-products of social, political, scientific, and technological change. Change can occur slowly or it can come suddenly and quickly (revolutionary change).

Consider each of the following circumstances carefully. Mark (G) whenever you feel gradual change is needed. Mark (R) for circumstances that you believe demand revolutionary change. And mark (S) if you think the status quo should be maintained (no change needed).

R = REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

G = GRADUAL CHANGE

S = STATUS QUO

CASE STUDY

ANALYZING EDITORIAL OPINION

- ___ 1. The present growth in world population
- ___ 2. Integration of black and white neighborhoods in America
- ___ 3. Poverty, starvation, and malnutrition in underdeveloped nations like India and Brazil
- ___ 4. Poverty, starvation, and malnutrition in the United States
- ___ 5. The pollution of air and water
- ___ 6. The problems of crime and urban unrest in American cities
- ___ 7. U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam
- ___ 8. The nature of educational programs in American high schools
- ___ 9. The economic system in the United States
- ___ 10. Federal appropriations for the space program
- ___ 11. Segregated school systems in the United States
- ___ 12. Federal laws regulating the use of drugs
- ___ 13. Military expenditures by the federal government

One of the most important critical thinking skills is the ability to recognize and analyze editorial opinion. One must remember that no newspaper, magazine or book is completely objective. All writers grow up with a different life experience, which is often referred to as a frame of reference. This life experience causes each person to see things in a different way. For example, a Marxist in Russia, a Christian in America and a Hindu in India might look at the Arab-Israeli conflict differently because of their unique life experiences. Within particular countries, family, religious, social, economic, regional and many other factors influence each individual differently.

The important point to remember is that one should not completely accept something as factual simply because it is in print. While reading, always try to discover the author's point of view and examine carefully his reasoning and logic.

This case study presents five short editorials. It will use some of the skills you learned in previous readings and exercises. When examining these editorials, each student should do the following:

1. Place each editorial on the political spectrum. Is the editorial a radical, liberal, conservative or reactionary statement?
2. Determine whether each editorial is a primary or secondary source.
3. Try to find two statements of fact and opinion in each statement.
4. Pick the editorial you think is the most objective and be able to state your reasoning.

RACIAL UNREST - AN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CAUSES

by Gerald L. K. Smith*

Gerald L.K. Smith is the founder and national director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade. The official organ of this organization is a monthly magazine called **The Cross And The Flag**.



As you read consider the following questions:

1. According to the author, what are the causes of race riots?
2. Gerald L.K. Smith refers to the Negroes as a "child race." What evidence does he present to support this idea?

*The editors requested information from the Christian Nationalist Crusade on the race question for use in this book. Gerald L.K. Smith wrote this response to our question, "What do you consider to be the causes of race riots in our country?"

The answer cannot be simplified, because the whole matter is so complex — but it is my opinion that the demagogues have promised the blacks so much that cannot be delivered promptly that it has brought disenchantment, disillusionment and complete unrest. In other words, the politicians have seduced the Negroes quite as a seductive suitor might promise a country girl Cadillacs, fur coats and trips to Europe. When she discovers that he has not delivered on his promises, anything can happen, including the murder of the seducer. The Negro race in relationship to civilization is a child race, out of the jungle only a few hundred years. The politicians and many of the religious

We will resist with petitions, contacts with governmental authorities, lobbying activities inside the legislative branch — we shall do everything within our power to head off the sadistic campaign to destroy our racial self-respect and make us a nation of mulattoes and mongrels. God save us! God save us! Forced bussing must end!

Gerald L.K. Smith, *The Cross and The Flag*, February, 1973, p. 10.

leaders and the do-gooders and the sentimentalists have not had the intellectual honesty to deal with these people frankly, compassionately and realistically. They have overworked the word "equal" and they have overworked their emphasis on poverty. Most Negro families today enjoy more of this world's goods than did the parents and grandparents of the great majority of our citizenry. Poverty was not glorified, but it was endured because those who experienced it had a vision of greater things and greater opportunities. Even today, the Negro in America has much more wealth and opportunity than any community of Negroes on the face of the earth, including the lands where Negroes have been ruled only by Negroes through the centuries. If the politicians and the developers had been honest enough to lay out beautiful areas for the development of Negro homes adjacent to our great cities, the hous-

ing problem would have been solved. But, the demagogues were too cowardly to be realistic and the public was too determined to permit free housing development because of their emotional and psychological opposition to integrated residential sections. Now that the most militant black leaders want segregation, the demagogues find themselves on the horns of a dilemma. Even the mayor of New York City recently issued a statement saying, "We have had as much integration as we need in New York."

13

READING NUMBER

PUERTO RICAN AND PROUD

by Grace Mora*

Grace Mora was on the national steering committee of Dr. King's Poor People's Campaign, was a candidate for Congress in 1968, and was one of the first American women to visit Hanoi (1967). She is the mother of four and works at the Harlem Institute for Marxist Studies. The following article appeared in **Daily World Magazine**, a publication of the Communist Party, USA.



Think of the following questions while you read:

1. As a teenager how did Grace Mora feel about being Puerto Rican?
2. What does the author think Communism taught her about the causes of racism in America?

*From Grace Mora, *Four Women-Profiles in Struggle*, *Daily World Magazine*, March 10, 1973, p. 9, 11. Reprinted with permission.

As a kid playing in the streets of El Barrio, I felt secure and had no problems of feeling I was "different" or "inferior" to anyone. Everyone spoke Spanish, everyone danced and sang to the same music, everyone ate the same food. Black and brown, we were all one.

I went to grammar school on West 111 St., and then to Junior High School on East 111 St. That's when it started! I was a teenager and I began to learn that Puerto Ricans and Blacks were always spoken of as separate from the white race. We were stereotyped in the movies along with our Indian and Chicano brothers and sisters.

Outside the security of our community we were "spics" and "niggers." It began to work on my mind. We were different, our music **was** loud, our dancing **was** vulgar, we dressed in loud colors, the Blacks were descendants of "savages" in Africa and had been slaves here in the U.S. Puerto Ricans **were** lazy and we all drank too much, had too many children and were irresponsible with our family obligations. Our parents worked for a living and dressed like **workers**. Some were even lazy enough to live off the city (welfare) . . . "They" deliberately had a lot of children in order to get more money.

Our homes were always full of relatives, kids, friends talking loud, laughing, eating fried, greasy foods . . . rice and beans, etc.

It wasn't like that in the movies, in the magazines we saw, even the funny books. The people we saw there were very "proper," educated and softspoken, and they had no cockroaches and rats in their fancy homes.

"Gradually, I began to feel angry inside at every white person I saw."

So in my innocence I was ashamed . . . ashamed of being a Puerto Rican, ashamed of my mother who never went to the beauty parlor, never wore make-up, wore

starched housedresses and didn't speak English. My father wore overalls! Even when he came to school to see my teachers. I could have died! His broken English. Why . . . didn't he speak English? After all, as my teachers repeatedly reminded me, **this was America**, and here we spoke English. We were supposed to give up our language, our culture, and embrace theirs.

"He is a Communist and therefore able to analyze correctly and scientifically the ways and means used by the capitalist, racist ruling class to oppress us."

El Barrio was a social center for the youth and families that lived there. There were dances every Friday, Saturday and Sunday in at least three or four ballrooms right in the community. Then the craze began for Latin music and all the big spots downtown began featuring the big Latin bands. Well, we wanted to go. It was our music, wasn't it? But no matter how sharp I dressed and how sharp I looked, once I left El Barrio I felt ugly, inferior. On the subways, in a restaurant, at a dance or in a nightclub. I felt that everyone was looking at me, calling me a "spic" and thinking that we should all stay where we "belonged," in the ghetto, or go back where "we came from."

Gradually, I began to feel angry inside at every white person I saw. So to cover my hang-ups, my hurt, I became arrogant and bitchy . . . I'd show them!!! I'd curse loud to shock those bastards and show them I was tough and I didn't care and didn't need them. (But, man, did I care!)

I don't know when I began to develop an understanding of why I felt this way and that we were the victims of deliberate, racist tactics used to undermine us, to put us down until we put ourselves down and lost the incentive to learn, to struggle for what was rightfully ours and against the injustices we were subjected to. I can thank my uncle for giving me direction, for patiently explaining how racism is

an effective tool of capitalism used to divide and exploit the people, the working people. He is a Communist and therefore able to analyze correctly and scientifically the ways and means used by the capitalist, racist ruling class to oppress us.

I began to appreciate my working-class parents, the soul of the Black and Puerto Ricans who were oppressed. I understood the anger that arose from the frustrations of our daily lives on the job, in the schools (we had no high school in Harlem and had to go downtown into white schools where the kids dressed nice. Many of us didn't have the carfare or lunch money to go, so many dropped out) and in society.

I began to realize that these racists, the owners and operators of big business and corporations, who profit from racism in their white ivory towers, with their power to maneuver our lives, were nonentities.

On the job they do their damnedest to pit Black against Puerto Rican. The Puerto Rican is told that he is a better, more conscientious worker than the Black, and if he accepts lower wages he'll have a steady job. The Black is told that the Puerto Ricans come from the island to steal their jobs and to take less pay. The whites are told the same about the Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Unity must be the key against the boss. It is in the interest of all Black, brown and white, to work together for equal wages. Together we can become strong and our struggles will be successful. On the job we organize, in the community we organize and socialize.

Today, I am free of inhibitions and undue criticism of myself because I'm a Puerto Rican. Today I am proud because through struggle I've maintained my dignity, and because I am a Communist I am learning to deal with my oppressors. That is my tool and they don't have the power to destroy that.

14

READING NUMBER

A NEW ARYAN FUTURE

by Matt Koehl*

Matt Koehl is the Commander of the National Socialist White Peoples' Party (NSWP). The following article appeared in **White Power**, the monthly newspaper of the NSWP. Before changing its name, this organization was known as the American Nazi Party. George Lincoln Rockwell founded the American Nazi Party, now the NSWP. After his death Party leadership went to Matt Koehl, who is still the Party Commander.



Use the following questions to assist your reading :

1. What does Matt Koehl mean by his reference to "the undeclared war on White America"?
2. How does the author think "White Americans" should behave?
3. What is his vision of what America should be like?

*From Matt Koehl, *Clear the Way for the Brownshirt Battalions*, **White Power**, January, 1973, p. 4. Reprinted with permission.

As we enter a new year, the undeclared war on White America continues.

Each week we hear new reports of killings, rapes, and Mau-Mau-style atrocities in which our racial brothers and sisters have been the victims. Federal judges continue to order the busing of small White school children to integrated jungles. Our people are bled to death with taxes, and victimized as wage-slaves who are forced to provide welfare for Black animals. Race-traitors in government design genocidal programs to restrict the number of White children who may be born.

The sick, depraved Jews who monopolize the motion-picture industry can hardly wait to turn America into a mongrel cesspool. They are busy grinding out one obscene movie after another with race-mixing as the principal theme.

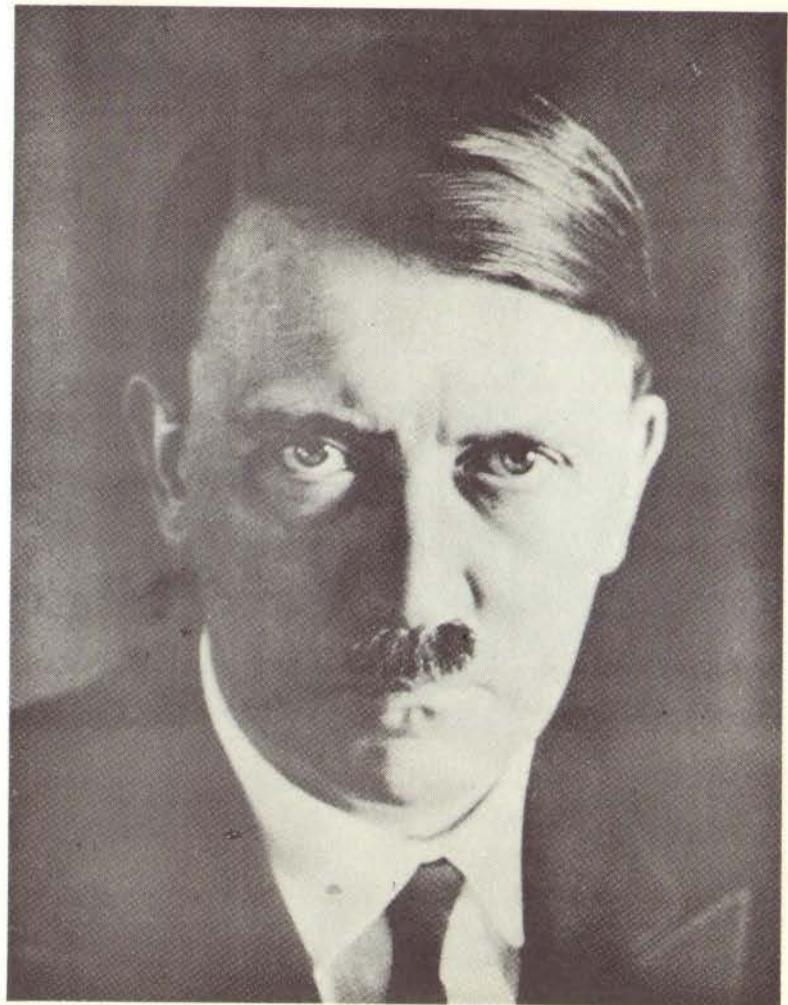
The National Socialist White Peoples Party

In a war like this, there are only two alternatives: lay down and die, or stand up and fight. We National Socialists — realizing what's at stake, and representing the most militant section of our race — do not propose to surrender and die. WE CHOOSE TO STAND AND FIGHT!

Unfortunately, many White Americans today are having a last fling with "Wallacism" — the game of let's pretend and self-delusion, in which they try to kid themselves that the issue isn't actually racial and they aren't actually racists.

But cold, hard reality belies this make-believe world with every new racial incident, and it's catching up with them more quickly than they think. Soon the days of play-acting will be over, and they will be forced to decide just where they stand and just what they're going to do in this battle.

And as this life-and-death struggle intensifies, those creepy "moderate" and "conservative" sellouts who are standing in the way of a real White man's fight are going to be swept into the trash can of history where they belong,



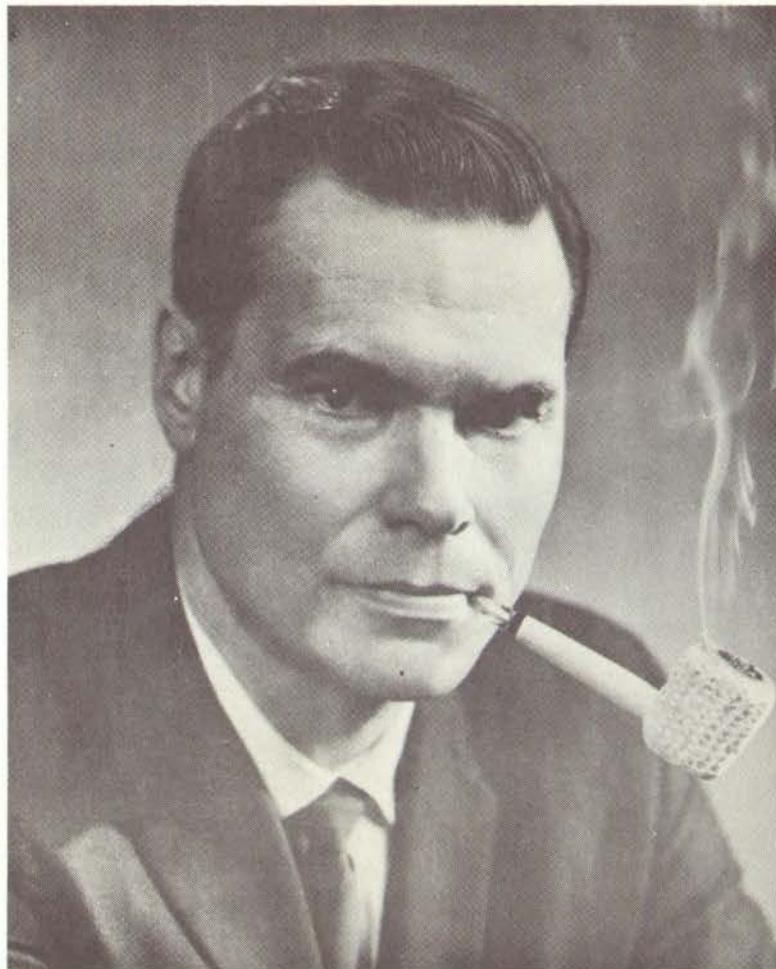
Adolph Hitler

WALL POSTER

Available from NSWP

along with all the liberal and Marxist race-traitors. Before a White people's victory can be achieved, these elements must be mercilessly exposed, smashed, and driven out of existence. They must be cleared out of the way.

"Clear the way for the Brownshirt Battalions!" That's how the second stanza of an old Stormtroop anthem begins.



George Lincoln Rockwell

Founder and first commander
of the NSWP

And just as it took Stormtroops to smash the Reds and Reaction in Germany several decades ago, so is it also necessary in America today. For when it comes to Communist treason and racial sellout, nothing can quite compare with a brutal Aryan fist for definitive results.

And the first order of business will be to send the Negro back to his home in the jungles of Africa. It won't cost any more than it did to send millions of our boys all over the world to fight the Jews' last four or five meaningless wars. It will cost just a fraction of what it's now costing us for welfare, drugs, crime and all the other benefits of Blacks and integration.

The National Socialist White Peoples Party

During the past year the National Socialist movement has gone from victory to victory as our Brownshirt columns have grown longer and longer. In 1973, these formations must become still larger.

And when battalion after battalion of fighting White men, mobilized under the Swastika banner, march out against the worst enemies of our race and nation, then we will win a special place in the hearts of our racial brothers and sisters — and the best of them will join us.

Then we will smash through Jew walls, and clear the way for a bright, new Aryan future. Then everyone will know that we are indeed on the road to power..

15

READING NUMBER

TRIBAL CHIEFS HELP EXPLOIT INDIAN LANDS

by Skip Ball*

Skip Ball is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He lives in Denver and serves as a volunteer correspondent for **The Militant**, a publication of the Socialist Workers Party. The following article appeared in **The Militant**.

As you read try to answer the following questions:

1. How does the author claim tribal chiefs get elected?
2. What does he say about tribal chiefs and their involvement with corporate exploitation of tribal lands and resources?

*From Skip Ball, *Tribal Chiefs Exploit Indian Lands*, **The Militant**, February 16, 1973, p. 21.

Most corporate exploitation of Indian lands in this country is carried out legally with the complicity of official tribal leaders.

This seems strange until one knows who those official leaders are and how they got in a position to sign away Indian lands without the permission and, in most cases, even the knowledge of the people whose mineral rights and land are being given away.

Vern Stevens, a Denver Indian leader, used to be an industrial adviser to Indian-exploiting companies. He has a whole series of documents that show how the tribal structure, as established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), is used to rip off American Indians and pad the pockets of corporations.

Take for example the chief of the Cherokees, W.W. Keeler. Keeler, who has the power to give away the rights to the tribe's old-rich lands in Oklahoma and Wyoming, is also president of Phillips Petroleum, a major recipient of Cherokee charity.

How did he land his chieftanship? The same way BIA procedure has long awarded such positions — by presidential appointment.

From now on, however, chiefs must be elected. But the appointed chiefs can easily deal with this inconvenience.

Stevens told **The Militant** how it's done:

"There is a tribal newspaper. Keeler gets coverage, his opponents don't. He has x number of millions of dollars to campaign with. Whatever he wants to do, he does. Around election time, there are lots of hungry Indians around, so he takes food baskets and gives them out, has hog roasts and the like."

Of course Keeler's opponents, living lives more closely akin to those of most Indians, didn't have the resources to hold feasts. Keeler was elected.

Stevens also related how a popular opponent of Nixon-appointed Choctaw Chief Blevins was eliminated. Blevins found out his opponent was under 34 years of age. So he had his council make 34 the minimum age to be eligible to run for chief. The councils are also, according to Stevens, appointed by "higher bodies" of the tribe largely under the control of the chief.

With this setup, it is more understandable how the official leaders of the most downtrodden oppressed nationality in this country can sign away mineral rights, even ceremonial grounds, to greedy corporations.

"As far as we're concerned, the judicial system in our country is sick — for any race."

Stevens, president of the Professional Indian Businessmen's Association of America, says he has documents he either signed or witnessed that show how the BIA operates and how it covers up its dirtier operations.

One case concerns a charcoal-burning plant the Oklahoma Indian Opportunities program set up. Although OIO originally procured grants to build two sawmills, it built the charcoal plant instead, and on Cherokee land. Stevens said his documents show that a majority of the Cherokee tribe's land board are on the OIO payroll.

Of \$45,000 secured for the operation from the federal poverty funds and \$45,000 from the Ford Foundation, "only \$30,000 of all this money ever showed up on this project," he claims.

Stevens believes there is a special reason why the BIA allows corporations to take over Indian property. "We have in this country," he feels, "an energy crisis. What it boils down to is that Indian people are actually in control of the energy source. This is the coal, the natural gas, the oil, the water rights, the timber.

"Because of this energy crisis," Stevens continued, "we also have the case of Peabody Coal, which secured at Black Mesa rights to Navajo coal. This is ceremonial ground, and the new chairman of the Navajos is challenging the way they got this coal."

Stevens hopes to publicize these crimes against Indians through court battles. He seeks to challenge the constitutionality of allowing chiefs or undemocratically ap-

pointed councils to give away lands and rights. He does not, however, expect much from the courts.

"We're challenging the U.S. government; we're challenging the method of justice; we're challenging the U.S. courts and the method of their operation. As far as we're concerned, the judicial system in our country is sick — for any race.

"Most corporate exploitation of Indian lands in this country is carried out legally with the complicity of official tribal leaders."

"We know what rigged trials are, we have been through them. We are not going in with any illusions; we don't think we're going to come out in grand style. But one thing we are going to win is an awful lot of public support," he said.

Coming out of this, Stevens hopes, "will undoubtedly be a good little bit of protest and demonstrations, and this will be one of the most beautiful things that could happen because this is what the government understands — pressure."

16

READING NUMBER

CHICANO LIBERATION

by Mirta Vidal*

Mirta Vidal has been active in the Chicano and Latino work of the Young Socialist Alliance. She has been a vocal advocate of Chicano Liberation and has written many articles on the problems of La Raza in the U.S.



The following questions should help you examine the reading:

1. What does the author say is the double oppression faced by La Raza?
2. What does she say the Cuban Revolution has demonstrated?

*From Mirta Vidal, *Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth*, International Socialist Review, February, 1971, p. 13-15.

Oppression of the Chicano people is one of the pillars upon which capitalism rests. During the last decade La Raza has begun to demand liberation. The Young Socialist Alliance unconditionally supports the right of self-determination of the Chicanos.

One of the pillars that has held up the capitalist structure over the past one hundred years is the oppression of the Chicano people. The Chicano people have their origin in a cultural and racial mixture of Spanish with the original inhabitants of what is now Mexico and the Southwest United States. Aztlan, in the Southwest part of what is now the United States, is the national homeland of the Chicano people. With the growth of capitalism and its constant need for expansion, Anglos began moving west, taking over that land and destroying the culture of the Chicano people which had developed over several centuries. During the past seventy years, three waves of immigration from Mexico have enlarged the Chicano population, not only in the Southwest but all over the United States. Perhaps as many as 10-15 million people in this country today belong to La Raza de Bronze (the Bronze People).

In many ways Chicanos in the Southwest suffer an even greater oppression than do Blacks. According to government figures, 28 per cent are functionally illiterate, while only 4 per cent of Anglos and 14 per cent of Black people in the Southwest fall into this category.

Spanish, the traditional language of Chicanos, has often been forbidden in the schools. Literacy tests are given in English, but large numbers of Chicanos do not speak this language. As a result, in California, while the student population is 14 per cent Chicano, 27 per cent of the students classified "mentally retarded" are Chicano.

The brutal oppression of Chicanos is the result of a system which requires cheap labor and masses of people with poor jobs, poor housing and poor living conditions. This has been one of the keys to the relative economic and political stability of U.S. capitalism.

Because this system needs a layer of people who will take the worst jobs with the lowest wages, who can be fired at will and discriminated against in many other ways, it has had to create the racist myths which justify the oppression of nationalities like La Raza. This oppression applies to one

degree or another to the Chicano people as a whole.

La Raza suffers a double oppression: exploited as part of the working class and oppressed because of its culture, race and language. It is this dual form of oppression, both class and national, which gives the Chicano struggle a profoundly revolutionary character.

The recent growth of nationalist consciousness is the logical development of a people with a common culture, history and language, which, as a nationality, the capitalist system has been unable to assimilate. A number of factors have set the stage for this process.

"For many diseases cures have already been found. Yet Chicanos and other poor people continue to suffer and die from them because "our" government would rather pour the money into implements of war."

Miguel Pendas, *We Should Not Have To Beg*, *The Militant*, February 23, 1973, p. 8.

Urbanization of the Chicano took place at a fast pace during and after the second world war. First came the Bracero program of the federal government which administered and controlled immigration from Mexico. These workers were used primarily in agriculture to keep wages down and replace those who had been drawn to the city and into the war industries; they were also used to break strikes. At the same time thousands of Mexican nationals crossed the border illegally in search of employment. The concentration of Chicanos into cities became even greater with the postwar prosperity of capitalism and the mechanization of agriculture. By 1960 urbanization had increased to the point of equalling that of the Anglo. Today, most Chicanos are crowded into the barrios in all the major cities of the Southwest, but there are large Chicano communities in many Midwest cities. For example, several hundred thousand live in the Chicago area. Perhaps as many as one-

half of all the steel workers in the eleven western states are Chicanos.

The decline of the small farmer and the rise of large-scale agribusinesses resulted in a worsened situation for the Chicano farmer whose land remained relatively unproductive. . . .

LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY

The current rise in nationalist consciousness has found one of its highest political expressions in La Raza Unida Party in Southwest Texas. This party grew out of struggles for community control in Crystal City, Texas, and has gained the first electoral victories of an independent Chicano political party.

These struggles for community control make the concept of self-determination concrete. Because this system is unable to grant self-determination to any oppressed nationality, the struggle for that right is a direct threat to the capitalist system. Without the pillar of Chicano oppression the whole capitalist structure would topple. This is especially true given the social composition of the Chicano people: almost entirely workers — and the most oppressed workers at that.

The Cuban revolution has demonstrated that only the overthrow of capitalism can lead to total liberation from imperialist political and economic control. This lesson will be learned by the Chicano masses who become mobilized and involved in the Chicano struggle around demands that, of necessity, are directly related to their needs. Because of the dual oppression of Chicanos as workers and as a nationality, the Chicano struggle will occupy a vanguard position in the coming American revolution.

IDENTIFYING THE POLITICAL POSITIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS

EXERCISE 9

Although there is a danger in simplification and generalization, it can often be quite helpful to pigeon-hole ideas, people, and organizations, particularly when one is trying to master new subject matter. It may be helpful to reread the introduction before starting this exercise.

Radical	Liberal	Conservative	Reactionary	
10 — Individual freedom is an absolute	— Reform by moderate means	— Content with the present system	— Traditional authority must be maintained	
9 — The goal justifies the means	— Expect the best of men	— Men need enlightened control	— All laws must be observed	
8 — Political ideals must not be compromised	— Expanded role of federal government in solving social problems	— The fewer government programs the better	— Political ideals must not be compromised	
7 — Belief in the economic system of Socialism			— Communism is the root of many problems	
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LEFT	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	RIGHT		
RADICAL	LIBERAL	MIDDLE-OF-ROAD	CONSERVATIVE	REACTIONARY

1. Position the following individuals on the spectrum and present arguments to defend your placements: James Foreman, George Wallace, Eldridge Cleaver and Robert Shelton.
2. Would the four individuals in question one be placed differently on the spectrum if they were examined in relation to their positions on welfare programs, or their opinions in American foreign policy?
3. What national organization and famous personalities do you think could be easily positioned on the spectrum? Which would be difficult to position? Be able to give your reasons in each instance.
4. Some people claim the political spectrum should be diagramed as a circle rather than as a straight line. Whereas liberals and conservatives share little mutual ground, radicals and reactionaries have many things in common. What merit do you see in this idea?

APPENDIX A

ORGANIZATIONS ON THE RADICAL LEFT

Organization	Publication	Estimated Circulation	Address
Communist Party, USA	The Daily World (formerly <i>The Worker</i>)	16,000	P.O. Box 544 Old Chelsea Station N.Y.C. 10011
W.F.B. DuBois Clubs of America	Insurgent	5,000	185½ McAllister St. San Francisco, Calif. 94102
Progressive Labor Party	Progressive Labor	6,500	Box 808 Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201
Socialist Labor Party	Weekly People	12,000	116 Nassau St. Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201
Socialist Workers Party	The Militant	5,000	14 Charles Lane New York, N.Y. 10014
Young Socialist Alliance	Young Socialist	unknown	Box 471 Cooper Sta. New York, N.Y. 10003
Spartacist League	Spartacist	2,000	Box 1377, G.P.O. New York, N.Y. 10001
Guardian	Guardian	26,000	32 West 22nd St. New York, N.Y. 10010
Workers' League	Bulletin	unknown	135 West 14th St. N.Y.C. 10011
World Socialist Party of the U.S.	The Western Socialist	unknown	295 Huntington Ave. Room 212 Boston, Mass. 02115
Ramparts	Ramparts		2054 University Ave. Berkeley, Calif. 94704
Monthly Review	Monthly Review		116 West 14th St. New York, N.Y. 10011

APPENDIX B

ORGANIZATIONS ON THE FAR RIGHT

Organization	Publication	Estimated Circulation	Address
John Birch Society	American Opinion	37,835	395 Concord Ave. Belmont, Mass. 02178
20th Century Reformation Hour (McIntire)	Christian Beacon		Haddon Ave. Collingswood, N.J. 08108
Life Line (Munn-H.L. Hunt)	Life Lines	8,250	4330 North Central Expressway Dallas, Texas 75206
Christian Crusade (Hargis)	Christian Crusader	77,906	2808 South Sheridan Road, Box 977 Tulsa, Oklahoma
Manion Forum	Manion Forum News	unknown	St. Joseph Bank Bldg. South Bend, Indiana
Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (Fred Schwarz)	CAAC Newsletter	50,000 claimed	P.O. Box 890 124 E. 1st St. Long Beach, Calif. 90801
Liberty Lobby	Liberty Letter	148,200	300 Independence Ave. S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003
Conservative Society of America (Courtney)	Independent American	27,000	P.O. Box 636 Littleton, Colo. 80120
Church League of America (Bundy)	News and Views	8,320	422 N. Prospect St. Wheaton, Ill. 60187
Harding College's National Education Program (George S. Benson)	National Program Letter	50,000	900 East Center Ave. Searcy, Arkansas 72143
Richard Cotten	Conservative Viewpoint	5,026	P.O. Box 17194 Dulles Airport Washington, D.C. 20041
Christian Freedom Foundation (Kershner)	Christian Economics	215,000	7960 Crescent Ave. Buena Park, Calif. 90620

APPENDIX C

PRIMARILY RACIST GROUPS

Organization	Publication	Address
White Citizens Council	The Councilor	1827 Texas Ave. Shreveport, La. 71103
The Citizens Councils of America	The Citizen	254 E. Griffith St. Jackson, Miss. 39202
Black Muslims	Muhammed Speaks	Muhammed's Temple N. 2 2548 S. Federal St. Chicago, Ill. 60616
United Klans of America	The Fiery Cross	P.O. Box 2369 Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401
American Mercury	American Mercury	P.O. Box 1306 Torrance, Calif. 90505
National Chronicle	National Chronicle	P.O. Box A C Burney, Calif. 96031
National Renaissance	National Renaissance Bulletin	P.O. Box 10 New York, N.Y. 10024
The Truth Seeker	The Truth Seeker	P.O. Box 2832 San Diego, Calif. 92112
National Socialist White Peoples Party	White Power	P.O. Box 5055 Arlington, Va. 22205
National States Rights Party	The Thunderbolt	P.O. Box 1211 Marietta, Georgia 30061
Christian Nationalist Crusade	The Cross and the Flag	P.O. Box 27895 Los Angeles, Calif. 90027
New Christian Crusade Church	Christian Vanguard	P.O. Box 3247 Hollywood, Calif. 90028

APPENDIX D

ORGANIZATIONS PUBLISHING INFORMATION ABOUT EXTREMISM AND EXTREMIST TACTICS

Public Relations Dept. Anti-Defamation League 315 Lexington Ave. New York, N.Y. 10016	American Civil Liberties Union 156 Fifth Avenue New York, N.Y. 10010
Dept. of Information National Council of Churches 475 Riverside Drive New York, N.Y. 10027	The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions Box 4068 Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103
Public Relations Dept. National Congress of Parents and Teachers 700 N. Rush St. Chicago, Ill. 60611	Democratic National Committee 1730 K Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Public Relations Dept. American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th St. New York, N.Y. 10022	National Conference of Christians and Jews 43 West 57th St. New York, N.Y. 10019
Professional Rights and Responsibilities Division National Education Assoc. 1201 16th St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Republican National Committee 1201 16th Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
American Assoc. of University Professors One Dupont Circle Washington, D.C. 20036	United Nations Association of the U.S. 833 U.N. Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017
Institute for American Democracy (IAD) Suite 101 1330 Massachusetts Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005	Group Research, Inc. 422 Bond Building 1404 New York Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005

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meet the editors



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